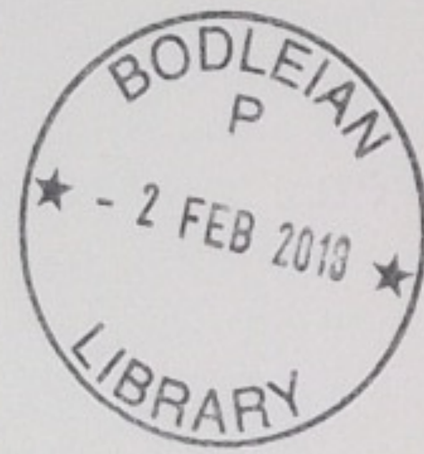
TO EDIT OR NOT TO EDIT

Pune Indological Series

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Aditya Prakashan

SAVITRIBAI PHULE PUNE UNIVERSITY
Department of Pali
Pune Indological Series
I

Jürgen Hanneder

TO EDIT OR NOT TO EDIT

On Textual Criticism of Sanskrit Works

A series of lectures delivered at
the École Pratique des Hautes Études
Paris, March 2015
and
the Department of Pali,
Savitribai Phule Pune University
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Editorial Note

The idea to establish the *Pune Indological Series* arose in the autumn of 2015 during a course of lectures delivered at the Department of Pali of the Savitribai Phule Pune University. Under the Khyentse Foundation Visiting Professorship Programme, which was made possible with the generous support of Ven. Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche and the Khyentse Foundation-India, Prof. Dr. Jürgen Hanneder (Philipps-Universität Marburg, Germany) was invited as the first Visiting Professor, and during his stay from October to November 2015 he offered in Pune a highly instructive course on textual criticism. I am very happy that our wish to have our own departmental series to be inaugurated with the publication of Prof. Hanneder's lectures has come to fruition now in the form of the first volume of the *Pune Indological Series*. In this newly established series we intend to publish high-quality research work in the field of Indology, focusing primarily but not exclusively on Buddhist Studies carried out at the Department of Pali or in collaboration with it. I am very grateful to our first contributor, to the editorial board, as well as to Mr. Aditya Goel of the Aditya Prakashan in New Delhi who with great enthusiasm and willingness has taken the responsibility of publishing and distributing the *Pune Indological Series*. More volumes will follow soon, and I hope that the academic community both in India and abroad will appreciate these contributions.

Mahesh A. Deokar
Editor-in-Chief

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Preface

When a generous invitation for a series of lectures as "Directeur d'Études invité" by the École Pratique des Hautes Études in March 2015 afforded me with an opportunity to present an overview of editiorial principles and editorial projects in which I have been recently involved, I thought that eight hours of lectures[1] would be enough to introduce some Kashmirian Sanskrit texts that had been or are being edited by scholars based in Marburg. But as it turned out, it meant killing too many birds with too few stones. The works cover a time span of almost one millennium, they concern many genres—from monolingual dictionaries in Sanskrit to translations of Spanish and Persian works into Sanskrit—and one cannot talk about, or make a case for editing unknown texts, without devoting some attention to the problems faced by editors in some academic communities[2] where editing is viewed as problematic, or on the controversies surrounding the method to be employed in practical editing.

In the same year, due to an invitation to the Department of Pali, Pune University, I read a substantially expanded version—this time during a period of two months with four hours a week—in order to introduce Indian students to textual criticism.

One disadvantage with attempting such an overview is that there is never a perfect time. Some of the texts introduced here have recently been published, others are work in progress, still others are hardly more than plans, hopefully to be realized soon. The resulting mixture will therefore be hardly more than a snapshot and at least partially subject to further revision. But the idea behind these projects, the rationale of editing, that is, to widen the textual basis for a study of the intellectual history of India, will emerge perhaps more vividly from such a peep into the editor's workshop with all its shortcomings.

The lectures were deliberately announced under the diffuse heading *To Edit Or Not to Edit* and the idea behind this title was to demonstrate through a series of examples, the value of editorial philology, one not conceived as the

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[1] Especially since French academic hours are, as I have learned, actually of sixty minutes duration, whereas German "hours" in universities traditionally start fifteen minutes after the full hour (*cum tempore*)—a remnant of the monastic hourly prayer. [2] As one American doctoral student recently told me bluntly: "We are Americans, if we edit, we are not getting jobs."

menial task of producing printed editions of texts, but as a very basic way to communicate with the thought world of authors of texts.

As is well-known, most Old Indian Texts have never been treated in this manner. Wilhelm Rau (1922–1999), who taught Indology at Marburg University, has in an inaugural lecture suggested to all scholars of that subject to edit one text during their lifetime in order to ameliorate the situation,[3] but in view of the large number of badly edited important texts, as well as inedita that may be important but remain unknown, this can only be a drop in the ocean.

My own entry into editorial philology started when the supervisor of my master thesis, Claus Vogel (1933–2012), suggested to me that instead of merely translating Kṣemarāja's *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, I could also consider editing it. Not much more information or supervision was given and I had to find my own way into editing. Then I had the privilege to work subsequently with three teachers who all gave practical examples of what it means to be a practising editor: Michael Hahn (1941–2014) devoted his whole energy to bringing the forgotten authors of Buddhist poetry to light and was as invaluable an inspiration as Alexis Sanderson, who has single-handedly reconstructed the history of Śaivism through working exclusively from primary sources and more often from manuscripts than from printed texts. And finally I could receive a prolonged and intensive training in practical editing when I had the privilege to work in the *Mokṣopāya Project* directed and supervised by Walter Slaje.

With the habit of working with new sources being formed it is difficult to avoid looking at manuscripts whenever the opportunity arises. Therefore, when I worked regularly in the *Bodleian Library* in Oxford, as well as in the library of the *School of Oriental and African Studies* in London, both of which hold interesting collections of Kashmirian manuscripts, I started to edit some of the minor works of Sāhib Kaul[4] and a few other works. The wealth of completely unknown texts was fascinating, and it is obvious that

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[3] "[. . .] jeder Indologe sollte m. E. Handschriften aufspüren, sammeln, auswerten, mindestens einen bedeutenden umfangreicheren Text edieren." In: *Wilhelm Rau. Kleine Schriften.* Hrsg. Konrad Klaus und Joachim Friedrich Sprockhoff. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012 (Veröffentlichungen der Helmuth von Glasenapp-Stiftung 46), p. 1359.

[4] This work has been carelessly promised long ago in my "Sāhib Kaul's Presentation of Pratyabhijñā philosophy in his *Devīnāmavilāsa*". In: *Le Parole e i Marmi. Studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70 compleanno.* Ed. R. Torella. Rome 2001 (Serie Orientale Roma XCII, 1/2), p. 399–418.

our unknown Indian transmitters as well as our indological ancestors had collected and passed on to posterity many fine specimens of Kashmirian Sanskrit literature, of which only some areas have drawn scholarly attention. Contrary to expectations, not only the old Kashmirian "classics" of Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja are contained in these collections, but a whole corpus of later and partly even of quite modern works. One could have expected that at least those scholars who could not enough lament about Indology being the result of a romantic obsession with the past would jump at these materials from early modern or even modern times, but it seems scholars fond of sweeping theories will find it particularly unappealing to edit an unknown text that might not fit into and thus could endanger their theory.

When looking at these manuscripts so meticulously transcribed, catalogued and collected by Georg Bühler and Marc Aurel Stein, I was struck by the realization that these far-sighted collectors may have hoped these texts might find an editor in better times. And like Harry Potter, who when attacked by the "dementors" realizes that his eagerly expected rescuer was, or rather would have to be, himself, I realized no one would magically appear to rescue those texts from oblivion by producing a first edition. For this reason I returned to this late medieval and early modern Sanskrit literature of Kashmir whenever the occasion presented itself. When teaching in Freiburg and even more when I took up office at Marburg University in 2007 I integrated seminars on the theory and practice of editing into the curriculum, thereby trying to inspire students to take up unpublished works for a first edition, surely a daunting task for a novice work, but the intensive supervision that our small subject of Sanskrit studies affords made such works possible.

More complex editorial tasks could of course not be fitted into the regular M.A. or even Ph.D. phase. For those, research projects with funding from outside the university had to be set up for doctoral students intent on editing.[5]

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[5] These are the following projects financed by the *German Research Community* (DFG). Stanislav Jager: *Kollation der Birkenrindenhandschrift* $Ś_{14}$ *des Utpattiprakaraṇa des Mokṣopāya* (HA 5698/1–1, 2008–2010), Anett Krause: *Sāhib Rāms Arbeiten zur Geschichte Kaschmirs. Erstedition, Übersetzung und Analyse.* (DFG, HA 5698/4–, 2011–2014), Stanislav Jager: *Bhāskaras Cittānubodhaśāstra: Kritische Edition der ersten drei Kapitel mit dem Kommentar des Autors* (DFG, HA 5698/7–1, since 2014). Anna Martin and Maximilian Mehner: *Sāhib Rāms Adaption des Aḫlāq-i Muḥsinī* (DFG HA 5698/9–1, since 2016). Other projects will be mentioned in the course of the lectures.

In this way a small corpus of *editiones principes* of Kashmirian Sanskrit works has been or is being created in Marburg, but since the projects are in different stages there has never been a good time to give an overview on these activities and to explain some of the results to a more general audience. On the following pages such an attempt will be made.

When talking about the practical side of editing, we cannot pass over the fact that the introduction of the B.A./M.A. system all over Europe has made it almost impossible to train new editors. With the phases of academic training being by default now only two (M.A.) or three (B.A., PhD) years, no sustained effort over a longer period is possible. For training editors in a complicated language like Sanskrit this will most probably not do. The task is only seemingly addressed by new centres for philology, which in order to receive funding have to follow latest academic fashion, as the Berlin based *Zukunftsphilologie*,[6] but do not seem to aim at actually producing editions of unknown texts.

It seems that the prospects for editorial work are not very promising, and this is especially unfortunate, since it must not be forgotten that Kashmirian literature should claim special attention: after the enormous efforts by Kashmirian scholars in the last century, the events of 1990, the dramatic exodus of Kashmiri Hindus, which by the way has nearly escaped public attention,[7] has pushed especially the later Sanskrit literature of Kashmir further out of sight. Under these circumstances, editors with a knowledge of local details are no more to be expected. Editing these texts is therefore far from being the leisurly activity in academic ivory towers it should be, it is the urgent task to save this part of the world's cultural heritage from oblivion.

And of course this is only one, historically very productive, but still fairly small region. If we start to talk about Indian manuscripts in general, and hear about modern estimates ranging from few millions to thirty million (Pingree),[8] we may still recall the words of William Jones: "wherever we direct our attention to Hindu Literature, the notion of infinity presents itself."[9]

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[6] See also JÜRGEN HANNEDER: »Zukunftsphilologie oder die nächste M[eth]ode«. In: ZDMG 163.1 (2013), p. 159-172. [7] Compare WALTER SLAJE: "Kashmir Minimundus. India's Sacred Geography en miniature". In: ROLAND STEINER (ed.): *Highland Philology. Results of a Text-Related Kashmir Panel at the 31st DOT, Marburg 2010*. Halle 2012, p. 26–28 [8] WILLIAM M. CALDER and STEPHAN HEILEN: "David E. Pingree: an unpublished autobiography". In: *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 47 (2007), p. 522. [9] "On the Literature of the Hindus". In: *Asiatick Researches* 1 (1788), p. 354.

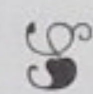


Finally it is a pleasant duty to thank my colleagues Lyne Bansat-Boudon and Matthew Kapstein of the École Pratique des Hautes Études for their kind invitation to Paris, and especially to the former for bearing the burden of organizing virtually everything. I have greatly benefited from their comments to my lectures, and also received much encouragement from the participants, especially Isabelle Ratié, which contributed in no small measure to the decision to have these talks published.

I also wish to thank my colleagues at Pune University, Mahesh and Lata Deokar, as well as Shrikant Bahulkar, with all of whom the Department of Indology and Tibetology in Marburg is connected through a variety of collaborations in editorial projects. They have kindly suggested my name as the first scholar to be invited to the Visiting Professorship, funded by Khyentse Foundation at the Department of Pali at Pune University, and during a two-month tenure of that post, these lectures finally took the shape in which they are now published.

In the final redaction I derived much help from Dragomir Dimitrov and Roland Steiner, who went through the whole text with great care and suggested many improvements.

The Unknown World of Inedita



La Mancha to Śrīnagara – The Translation of the Ḍān Kvikṣoṭa

As an indologist interested in the history of the subject I was always astonished that there is no Indology in the Iberian Peninsula[10] and almost no indological works to be read in Spanish except very few from South-America.[11] And there seems to be no convincing explanation for this, at least I could not find any. Perhaps such academic predilections depend on historical chance and do not correlate nicely to political, geographical or other influences. Just as we have no good explanation of the fact that despite the colonial past English bookshops have much fewer Sanskrit items than Italian bookshops.[12]

Of course such lack of an explanation is unsatisfactory, and some have taken refuge to inferring a cause, or rather the absence of a cause, from the effect: Some Indian romanists, for instance, claim that "a lack of any direct historical encounter between"[13] India and Spain was the cause for or rather prevented Spain from pursuing the subject of Indology or Indian Studies. The explanation is not very convincing if one remembers that German indologists too had no access to India and had to wait for some time until they could travel to India. The first generation of German indologists learned Sanskrit—as is well-known—in Paris and London. When the famous German scholar Alexander von Humbold tried to visit India, he was denied entry by the British authorities. Things changed drastically only in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Thus absence of direct contact alone is not a good explanation. Moreover there have been attempts to start an Indology in Spain. A gifted scholar of Oriental studies from Madrid, Francisco García Ayuso (1835–1897), had acquired good Sanskrit and wrote in 1885 that "Los estudios filológicos orientales son, hace medio siglo, uno de los elementos más principales des las investigaciones científicas en los grandes centros literarios del mundo civilizado [. . .] Pero

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10 To be exact, a discipline of Indology as separate from Indo-European linguistics.

11 There is some teaching of Sanskrit within Indo-European Studies, then there are the authors Fernando Tola and Carmen Dragonetti, who have produced, it seems, single-handedly an Indology in Argentina, but there does not seem to be a full-fledged and institutionally established Indology as in many European countries.

12 That may of course have to do with national differences in book culture.

13 See below for the quotation.

España! ¿Qué han hecho los literatos españoles [. . .]"[14] He continues with diagnosing a lack of activity to this end and therefore introduces his new Series *Biblioteca Sanskrita*, in which his translation of the most famous Indian play Sakuntala appeared. Among the many translations this work has seen in the nineteenth century, mostly from the English version of William Jones, this one stands out as being translated directly from Sanskrit into Spanish. The author states in his introduction that he had studied with Martin Haug in Munich for three years.[15] His other works on Indian studies are a thesis on the Buddhist Nirvāṇa,[16] and a longer treatise on philology including that of Sanskrit,[17] which contains a comprehensive treatment of liguistics with special reference to Sanskrit, but includes also a sizeable history of the subject in France, England, and Germany.

So if there is not much India in Spain, what about Spain in India? Naturally we find within Indian Romance Studies a section devoted to Spanish literature. To account for the subject's very recent tradition some Indian Romanists have diagnosed "a lack of any direct historical encounter between" India and Spain,[18] but the argument has one flaw—perhaps irrelevant for the argument, but all the more interesting: Following Vasco da Gama's sojourn in India in 1498, there had been a cultural exchange in both directions, on a scale which art historians have recently diagnosed as a kind of globalization. Since the publication of an impressive catalogue of the Ceylonese ivory objects kept in the Rietberg Museum in Zürich[19] we can visualize this phenomenon vividly. The objects described were kept as Eastern luxury items for Catalina de Austria, alias Catherine, Queen of Portugal, and niece of Catalina de Aragón, first wife of Henry VIII. In this collection, there is, for instance, an ivory

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14 D. Francisco García Ayuso: *Sakúntala. drama del poeta indio Kalidasa en siete actos. Version directa del sanskrit.* Madrid: Imprenta de la Biblioteca de Instruccion y Recreo 1875 (Biblioteca Sanskrita), first page.

15 Haug mentions his Spanish student in a letter to his former teacher Ewald: "Unter meinen Zuhörern ist ein Spanier, der mehrere Jahre hierbleiben will, um Arabisch und Sanskrit zu lernen. Er will das Studium des Sanskrit u. der Sprachwissenschaft nach Spanien verpflanzen." *Briefe an Ewald*. Ed. R. Fick. Göttingen [no date], p. 105f.

16 *El Nirvâna buddhista en sus relaciones con otros sistemas filosoficos*. Madrid 1885.

17 *La Filología en su relacion con el Sanskrit*. Madrid 1871.

18 Shyama Prasad Ganguly: »El Quijote in India: Some Transcultural Considerations«, p. 57.

19 For the following, see Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Johannes Beltz: *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon. Luxusgüter für Katharina von Habsburg (1507-1578)*. Zürich: museum rietberg 2010.

chest carved with a variety of motifs, which exemplify the quality of cultural interaction.

In 1514 the famous German artist Albrecht Dürer produced one copper engraving called "Dudelsackpfeifer" (bag piper), in which he depicted a person playing an Irish bag pipe, an instrument which Dürer might have seen in 1513, when his patron Maximilian I fought alongside English troops. Apparently the Ceylonese Ambassador to the Portuguese court, Śrī Rāmarakṣā Paṇḍita, took some of these prints to his homeland, where they appear on art objects from 1543 onward. The ivory chest kept in Zurich does not only display Dürer's bag piper, which had thus travelled from Nürnberg to Śrī Laṅkā, but also several other European motifs.

And the exchange was not merely eastwards. Around the same time an Indian Rhinoceros was sent to Portugal, where it attracted much attention before it drowned by accident. Dürer, being an effective businessman, reacted quickly and produced a drawing of the animal with a short explanation of its history.[20] Copies of this print, which is among those that have been described as early instances of tabloid journalism,[21] have circulated widely. What underlines the speed and intensity of communication is that Dürer in the print dates the arrival of the animal to the 1st of May 1513. In fact it arrived only in 1515, the year when Dürer published his print. Dürer had apparently received the information through the channels of Nürnberg merchants much earlier.

Thus given this exchange, when Cervantes published his Don Quixote in 1605, it is even conceivable that he used Indian motifs, as has been diagnosed in the prophesy of the ape in the second part of the Don Quixote, which is told by one "Benengeli", a name referring perhaps—as indicated by some Cervantes specialists—to someone from Bengal.[22]

But this phase of exchange seems to have had no lasting influence. Romanists in the last century had to start from afresh. When in the year 2005

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[20] The text on this often reproduced work reads: "Nach Christiegeburt / 1513 Jar AD[omin]i 1. May hat man dem großmechtigisten König Emanuel von Portugal gen Lysabona aus India pracht ein solch lebendig Thier. das nennen sie Rhinocerus/ Das ist hie mit all seiner gestalt Abconterfect." [21] This comparison suggests itself when Dürer's other similarly circulated prints of spectacular incidents like siamese twins are taken into account. See *Dürer. Kunst – Künstler – Kontext*. Ed. Jochen Sander. München: Prestel 2014, p. 295–306. [22] Jorge Flores: "Distant Wonders: The Strange and the Marvelous between Mughal India and Habsburg Iberia in the Early Seventeenth Century". In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 49.3 (2007), p. 565.

the 400th anniversary of the publication of the first edition of Cervantes' *El Ingenioso Hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha* was celebrated, Indian Romanists drew up a survey of the reception of the work in India.[23] Although the book was partly conceived more as an Indian response to Cervantes than a strictly academic survey, it showed what was, in any case, to be expected: that Cervantes' work, to be exact, English translations of it—an exception was one copy of the Spanish original in possession of William Jones—had spread to India in the nineteenth century, and that translations from these English versions into Indian vernaculars were gradually being produced. These translations involved, in accordance with the tastes of the time, literary domestications, as was common also in other pre-modern traditions of translation. Much of the foreign flavour of the text was thus lost. Perhaps most visibly, the names of the characters were "indianized": Still in the Bengali translation of 1931, Don Quixote became *Don Kusti*,[24] Dulcinea became *Tilottamā*. Such highly adaptive translations were not unknown in India, rather the Indian Pandits acted very much like the classical translators of Europe, who would render the foreign with the well-known and edit out anything contrary to classical standards. It is easy to ridicule such substitutions, as for instance through the case of a medieval translation from Spanish to German, in which the *aceitunas*, "olives", certainly unknown to the German readers at the time, became "Bratwürst", that is, fried sausages. But quite apart from such spectacular cases, the tendency to transform the realia and style of a text into something, which the reader would recognize as poetically valid is quite understandable. In this literary texts and religious scriptures may differ considerably: Tibetan translations of the Buddhist canon from Sanskrit on the contrary were literal and etymological to the extreme.

Translations into Sanskrit were no exception to the general trend. In his translation of Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* into Sanskrit as *Vāsantikāsvapnam* R. Krishnamachariar writes:[25]

> This work is an adaptation of Shakespeare's Midsummer-night's Dream. The rendering is free in some places and literal in other

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[23] *Quixotic Encounters. Indian Responses to the Knight from Spain*. Ed. Shyama Prasad Ganguly. Delhi: Shipra Publications 2006. [24] *Quixotic Encounters.*, p. 21. [25] Kumbhakonam 1892, p. ii.

places, without being detrimental to the general tenor of the passages in the original. The ideas are enlarged in some places, but the enlargement is generally in keeping with the dominant feelings. There are deviations in details with a view to keep up the characteristics of the Sanskrit drama. Some few passages pregnant with such ideas as cannot be brought home to our Pandits have been omitted, as also some passages which relate purely to Western habits and customs.

In Europe modern translations are characterized by varying degrees of rejection of the old model of an adaptive translation. We find all shades from a literary translation, in which foreign idioms and names are introduced with caution, to so-called "scientific" or "philological" translations that are so literal as to make them virtually inaccessible to non-specialists. The latter is especially true in the case of translations into German, not so much in the case of English translations. For understanding the development of this method of translation, done here in an examplary way for a German environment, we have to briefly touch upon the concept of "translation" in the early Romantic movement in Germany, the so-called "Jenaer Frühromantik", named after the small university town Jena, in which its proponents converged around 1800. The young Romantics rejected the classical models and boldly claimed that they would be the first to translate literally and at the same time poetically and thereby retain the beauty of foreign works, thus enlarging the canon of true poetry beyond our known boundaries. Here are just two quotations to give you an impression:

> I think we are about to invent the art of true poetic translation; this fame was reserved to the Germans [. . .][26]

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[26] "Ich glaube man ist auf dem Wege, die wahre poetische Übersetzungskunst zu erfinden; dieser Ruhm war den Deutschen vorbehalten [. . .]" A. W. Schlegel: "Nachschrift des Uebersetzers an Ludwig Tieck". In: *Athenaeum. Eine Zeitschrift von August Wilhelm Schlegel und Friedrich Schlegel. Zweiten Bandes Zweites Stück.* Berlin 1799, p. 281.

> The utmost precision in imitating grammar and metrics should be fused with the highest level of uninhibited vitality.[27]

Now two of the Jena Romantics happen to be the founders of Indology in Germany: Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel. The latter translated profusely from English, Spanish, Italian, etc.—he is the acclaimed German translator of Shakespeare—before turning to Sanskrit, and we may therefore wonder how the Romantic program worked when applied to Sanskrit, a language that is quite unlike the others he had encountered before.

Firstly we have to see that there was the practice to use Latin as a sort of didactic link language, which enabled the learner to understand Sanskrit sentences without much loss. In the first generation of Sanskrit Studies there were hardly any printed books, and utterly insufficient study materials. One therefore used interlinear Latin versions to learn and understand Sanskrit, as shown in the following text from Bopp's famous edition of one episode from the Mahābhārata.[28]

आसीद् राजा नलो नाम वीरसेनसुतो बली ।

1. Fuit rex, Nalus nomine, Virasêni-filius validus, ।

As the example shows, the Latin version was used not so much as a translation in its own right, but as a sort of meta-language to understand the Sanskrit more easily: the word order is preserved, each Sanskrit word is translated with only one Latin word, the compound is indicated by the inflected but hyphenated pseudo-compound *viraseni-filius.*

Where this was the learning method, a closely literal translation of Sanskrit into German must have been the obvious choice. And for the readers of the writings of the *Early Romantics* the finishing touch of such a novel attempt

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[27] "Die möglichste Strenge in der grammatischen und metrischen Nachbildung soll mit dem höchsten möglichen Grade freier Lebendigkeit vereinigt werden." A. W. Schlegel: Rezension von "Vier Tragödien des Aeschylos". *Jenaer Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* 1804 [reprint: *August Wilhelm von Schlegel's Sämmtliche Werke.* Ed. Eduard Böcking. Leipzig: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung 1846, vol. 12, p. 161.] [28] Francisco Bopp: *Mahá-Bhárati Episodium.* Secundae emendatae editionis. Berolini 1830, p. 3.

at translation would be an imitation of the metre of the original. Such an attempt was made very early by Kosegarten, but has been virtually forgotten. The same line in his translation runs a follows:

> *āsīd rājā nalo nāma vīrasena-suto balī*
> Es war ein Fürst, genannt Nala, Wirasenas gewalt'ger Sohn

Kosegarten has managed to preserve not only the sense, but has realized the Sanskrit metrical structure based on the quantity of syllables, which German can only imitate through a stress accent (*ictus*). Such experiments, of course, could work only with simple texts and simple metres.

It is unfortunate for more than one reason that Kosegarten has been largely forgotten, and for that reason a small excursus to the university town of Jena is necessary. It has been also forgotten that Kosegarten was the third professor, next to Schlegel and Bopp, to introduce Sanskrit in a German university around 1818. Kosegarten was trained in theology and had a special interest in Oriental languages, which originally meant those pertaining to Christian theology, but soon included Arabic, Persian, and finally Sanskrit. Kosegarten had learnt Sanskrit in Paris[29] and started teaching in Jena in 1818. There he soon became friends with the German national poet Goethe in Weimar, who had known his father. Goethe even became godfather to his son. In a brief note on *Indische Dichtungen* Goethe explicitly mentions Kosegarten as the one who explained to him the extent to which the content and character of these works were modified by English translations:

> All these poems are conveyed to us in translations that are more or less removed from the original, so that we only receive a general impression without the defined characteristic of the original. The difference is indeed very considerable, a fact that is most

[29] On Kosegarten and Sacy, see MICHEL ESPAGNE: "Silvestre de Sacy et les orientalistes allemands". In: *Itinéraires orientalistes. Revue germanique internationale* 7 (2008), p. 79–91.

> clearly visible from a translation of some verses directly from the Sanskrit, which I owe to Prof. Kosegarten.[30]

Kosegarten left Jena after only a few years to return to his home town Greifswald, and the reason for this was unknown. I literally stumbled upon the explanation when I was looking at decrepit tombs in the old Jena cemetery. One tombstone turned out to be that of Kosegarten's first wife. The withered epitaph gives her dates and it seems that Kosegarten soon after the death of his wife transferred to his home town to remarry.[31]

Kosegarten later became the first critical editor of the *Pañcatantra*, and it was only when Johannes Hertel found better manuscripts of the text in Kashmir, and poured undeserved scorn on his pioneering predecessor, poor Kosegarten was forgotten even in indological circles.

But wrongly so. Kosegarten also worked on Persian literature, and when Goethe published his famous *West-Eastern Divan*, he reviewed it. We must add that this work of Goethe is always referred to when the German appreciation of foreign cultures and religions needs to be emphasized, and it is a standard quotation when politicians need to establish a connection to Islamic cultures. In Germany Goethe stands for the ideal poet and enlightened politician, and it is just a small aspect of this polymath that he is also unique for his appreciation of "the East". This has even influenced post-colonial literature, where Goethe is sometimes styled the only person beyond the colonial mindset of the day. Early Sanskritists are never mentioned in this connection, they usually have to play the role of the culprits who invented the idea of an Aryan people.

There have been backlashes against this Goethe cult. In 1999, just a decade after German reunification, Weimar became European Capital of Culture, and this was the time of endless new biographies, works on "The spirit of Weimar", on Schiller, Herder, but above all on Goethe. Some authors became weary of the Goethe cult and tried to highlight the dark side of Goethe, of a politician

[30] "Alle diese Gedichte sind uns durch Übersetzungen mitgeteilt, die sich mehr oder weniger vom Original entfernen, so, daß wir nur ein allgemeines Bild ohne die begrenzte Eigentümlichkeit des Originals gewahr werden. Der Unterschied ist freilich sehr groß, wie aus einer Übersetzung mehrerer Verse unmittelbar aus dem Sanskrit, die ich Herrn Professor Kosegarten schuldig geworden, aufs klarste in die Augen leuchtet." *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand.* Stuttgart: Cotta 1833, vol. 49, p. 147.

[31] Details will appear in my forthcoming monograph on A. W. Schlegel.

who claimed almost the highest income in the state of Saxony-Weimar, one who in his various functions did not prevent the public execution of a young woman, who sent military troups against students' prostests in Jena, who vigorously exercised his right to academic and other censorship, and last but not least, who had set up a net of spies.[32] The latter was not without belligerent implications in a town, where the era of GDR style spying activity had just ended and where current and prospective state employees were under scrutiny for having been recruited by the notorious Ministry for State Security.

Some allegations levelled against Goethe were no doubt exaggerated, and meant mainly to counteract the prevailing idealization. One author diagnosed a Goethe taboo,[33] implying that there are things one cannot say about Goethe, and the following would probably also fall under that category.

There is an epilogue by Goethe to his *Divan*, where he writes about Islam and Indian religions and expresses his sympathy for Mahmud of Ghazni's iconoclasm during his Indian raids in rather clear terms. That Goethe detested Indian art and especially the many-armed deities of India is well known, but to agree to a destruction of such images would come as a shock to many admirers of Goethe, and is therefore mostly omitted.[34] At the time when it was published, Goethe's pronouncement provoked angry reactions by indologists. The more so, since he did not merely attack sculpture, but also religion by saying in the same text: "basically Indian religion is worth nothing".

Even in monographical works on Goethe's appreciation of the East, based on Indian and Persian literature, there is usually not a word about this. And thus Kosegarten, who had written a review on the work and had protested against the overtly negative tone of Goethe, is not mentioned either. To be fair, in a letter to Kosegarten Goethe agreed that he had been too harsh, but his public opinion never changed.

After this excursus on Kosegarten, we have to return to the question of how to translate Sanskrit. Early German indologists thought that while other European languages, notably French and English, were unable to push the

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[32] TILMAN JENS: *Goethe und seine Opfer. Eine Schmähschrift*. Düsseldorf: Patmos 1999.

[33] The book appeared exactly in time for the celebrations. W. DANIEL WILSON: *Das Goethe-Tabu: Protest und Menschenrechte im klassischen Weimar*. München: DTV 1999.

[34] The passage is, however, reproduced in VEENA KADE-LUTHRA (Ed.): *Sehnsucht nach Indien. Literarische Annäherungen von Goethe bis Günther Grass*. München: Beck 1991, p. 83ff.

boundaries in order to imitate Sanskrit, German was uniquely suited to the literal translation approach. Statements as the above that Germans were destined to revolutionize translation are often read by non-Sanskritists mainly as a political statement, as anti-French or anti-British. But while the non-Sanskritist readers may have caught the undertone right, they usually did not understand the main sense.[35] That is that, while in English word order and absence of differentiated inflection forces the translator very early to deviate from the syntax of the original, the German translator can hope to imitate many more of the Sanskritic features, including even the compounds. The German poet Friedrich Rückert was the most outspoken proponent of this literal method. He held the opinion that—I try to paraphrase—we should not destroy this rich Indian poetical vegetation by severing it into single branches and flowers and thus destroy the real beauty in it. Through cutting a long sentence into pieces one destroys its very life. And then he adds: "The English and the French cannot avoid it, but we can, if we only use our ancient *Reichskammergerichtsperiodenbau*."[36] This word is itself an example of what he means: it is an awkward sounding German compoud meaning the construction (-bau) of sentences (-perioden-) as used in a *Reichskammerg-*

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[35] Even if one reads the early pronouncement of Schlegel quoted above, we find the following complementary description of the enormous problems every translator into German is facing: "Die Sprache der Römer konnte nur durch unsägliche Mühe und Gewalt für die Poesie urbar gemacht werden, und so hat auch bey uns die Undankbarkeit des Bodens zu einer mühsameren Cultur genöthigt. Unsre Sprache ist halsstarrig: wir sind desto biegsamer; sie ist hart und rauh: wir thun alles für die Wahl milder gefälliger Töne; wir verstehen uns sogar im Nothfalle zu Wortspielen, einer Sache, wozu die Deutsche Sprache am allerungeschicktesten ist, weil sie immer nur arbeiten, niemals spielen will. Wo sind denn nun die gepriesenen Wundervorzüge, die unsere Sprache an sich, zur einzig berufnen Dollmetscherin aller übrigen machen sollen? Ein Wörterreichthum, der gar nicht so überschwenglich ist, daß er nicht beim Uebersetzen oft Armuth sollte fühlen lassen; die Fähigkeit zusammenzusetzen, und hie und da neu abzuleiten; eine etwas freyere Wortstellung, als in einigen modernen Sprachen gilt, und endlich metrische Bildsamkeit." A. W. SCHLEGEL: "Nachschrift des Uebersetzers an Ludwig Tieck". In: *Athenaeum. Eine Zeitschrift von August Wilhelm Schlegel und Friedrich Schlegel. Zweiten Bandes Zweites Stück*. Berlin 1799, p. 282f.

[36] "Die ganze dichtverwobene Laubmasse einer solchen indischen Vegetation, nach unserer Art in einzelne Ränkchen und Blüthen aufzulösen, zerstört den eigentlichen Zauber jener Poesie; man kann einen solchen Satz nicht in Sätzchen zerschneiden, ohne ihm die Sonnen des Lebens entzwei zu schneiden. Der Engländer und der Franzose können nicht anders, wir aber können's, wenn wir auch nur unseren ehemaligen Reichskammergerichtsperiodenbau zu Hülfe rufen wollen; wir brauchen nichts, als seine Prosa in Poesie zu verwandeln." (p.141)

ericht, which is a court of justice (-gericht-) in the Holy Roman Empire, thus meaning a formal language characterized by complicated expressions. The main problem with this approach is that while many would agree that it is an ingeniuous imitation of the original, only few would agree that it is poetic. Even in German, and despite Mark Twain,[37] long compounds sound inelegant. Therefore the German reader of Rückert's translations occasionally wonders.

> Verlassend erst die sichtbare Geliebte,
> Jetzt die Gemalte wiederholt anbetend,
> Werd' ich die Wandrerlabfluth übergehend,
> verlockt, o Freund, in die Gazellendürstung.
>
> First leaving the visible Beloved
> Now repeatedly adoring the painted one,
> Ignoring the "Wandrer-lab-fluth"
> I am tempted, o friend, into the "Gazellen-dürstung".

We can interpret part of the poem easily: The subject, who views an image of his beloved, is so drawn to this image that he even disregards the original. Then follows an *arthāntaranyāsa*, a comparison to explain the first two lines. He is like a traveller, who ignores the "Lab-fluth", which the reader will grasp as nutrition. But why it is here "a flood of nutrition", remains unclear. Only the Sanskritist can know that words like "flood", "flock", etc. are used as plural markers in compounds, but the real question is: Do we need this image in the target language? What has flood to do with the food? Probably nothing, because such plural markers do not always fit into the context with their primary sense. The other hurdle is considerable. No reader of German will easily understand "Gazellen-dürstung". "Dürstung" is not a word commonly used, and Rückert uses it elsewhere in the sense of staying thirsty for a certain

[37] Mark Twain, in his well-known essay on *The Awful German Language* (published as an appendix to his *A Tramp Abroad*, Hartford 1880), caricatured almost all grammatical phenomena that invariably puzzle speakers of English: grammatical gender, separation of verbal prefixes and of course compounds, on which he says: "Some German words are so long that they have a perspective [. . .] These things are not words, they are alphabetical processions. And they are not rare; one can open a German newspaper at any time and see them marching majestically across the page,—and if he has any imagination he can see the banners and hear the music, too. They impart a martial thrill to the meekest subject."

time, as when camels drink only after five days of "Dürstung". And only the Sanskritist will recognize that this word translates *mṛgatṛṣṇikā*, which means fata morgana. What Rückert has done is to give us an interpretation of the not so obvious etymology of the word. It belongs to those translations that, as Fritze has said,[38] one almost understands, as soon as one understands the original.

Schlegel detested Rückerts translations and exaggerated it in the following verse:[39]

> Deine Sanskritpoesiemetriknachahmungen
> Sind voll von goldfunkelnagelneuen Benamungen
> Du überflügelst in wortschwallphrasendurchschlängeltmonostrophi-
> schen Oden
> Die Weilandheiligenrömischenreichsdeutschernationsperioden.
> Deine mit Dank erkanntwerdenwollenden Bemühungen sind höchlich
> zu rühmen:
> So muß man die Himavatgangesvindhyaphilologiedornpfade beblümen.

It is impossible to translate the polemic side of this verse, which is an exaggeration of the techniques employed by Rückert: Too long and tiresome compounds, extremely clumsy grammatical forms (erkanntwerdenwollenden) and etymological experiments that try to imitate the freedom of Sanskrit in word formation. Rückert's idea of the language of the ancient courts is here—explicitly in the fourth line—ridiculed. What is quite unknown is that A. W. Schlegel despite being the proponent and early practitioner of a literal and at the same time literary approach before 1800, after studying Sanskrit abandoned it. The following is from his introduction to a retelling of the *Gaṅgāvatāra* myth:[40]

> What I am giving here, is not a translation, but a free imitation. All poetic translations are merely imperfect approximations. Inimitableness and unattainability of the original may spoil such an approximation to an extent that it is preferable not to attempt

[38] Ludwig Fritze: *Meisterdichtungen Indiens*. Ed. Andreas Pohlus. Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag 2013, p. 969. [39] *August Wilhelm von Schlegel's Sämmtliche Werke*. Ed. Eduard Böcking. Leipzig: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung 1846, Band 1, p. 235. [40] A. W. Schlegel: "Indische Dichtungen". In: *Indische Bibliothek* 1 (1823), p. 32.

> it at all. The Indian language seems to me, without respect to content and form of the works, to be such an inimitable original.[41]
>
> Literal translation, with exact imitation of the metrical form, may have been and may still be useful for specimina, in order to give the reader an idea of the tone of the original, as one would engrave a facsimile of a manuscript in copper. For longer narrative poems I would not recommend this approach: I fear that this would very much disadvantage Indian poetry.[42]

So German Indology has or rather had a double legacy: the literary modest approach of Schlegel and the bold stretching of the natural boundaries of German as practised by Rückert. Several developments in German Indology—among which the etymological method in Vedic studies needs to be especially mentioned—contributed to a rise of the literal translation method. Especially in the second half of the twentieth century, a ban was pronounced on free translation, and a so-called concordant translation was held to be the only valid way of translating from Sanskrit into German. The proponent of this highly influential school was Paul Thieme, discordant voices, as the one of Paul Hacker,[43] were hardly heard. As a result we now have extremely literal translations even in popular works not intended for Sanskritists, the most problematic aspect of which is the wide-spread perception that the more unidiomatic and incomprehensible a translation is, the more literal and philologically accomplished it must be. Hence it is often more rewarding to read English translations of Sanskrit works than German ones, the erstwhile ad-

[41] "Was ich hier gebe, ist keine Uebersetzung, sondern eine freie Nachbildung. Alle dichterischen Uebersetzungen sind nur unvollkommene Annäherungen. Die Annäherung kann durch die Unnachahmlichkeit und Unerreichbarkeit des Originals in eine so weite Ferne verwiesen werden, daß man dann wohl besser thut, die Sache gar nicht zu unternehmen. Die indische Sprache scheint mir, ohne alle Rücksicht auf Gehalt und Form der Schriften, ein solches unerreichbares und unnachahmliches Original zu sein." [42] "Wörtliche Übersetzungen, mit genauer Nachahmung der metrischen Form, mochten und mögen für einzelne Proben zweckmäßig sein, um den Lesern einigermaßen eine Vorstellung von dem Tone des Originals zu geben, so wie man etwa ein Faksimile von einer Handschrift in Kupfer stechen läßt. Für erzählende Gedichte von größerem Umfange würde ich aber diese Verfahrensweise nicht empfehlen: ich besorge, die indische Poesie möchte dabei allzu sehr in Nachtheil gesetzt werden." [43] PAUL HACKER: "Zur Methode der philologischen Begriffsforschung". In: ZDMG 115 (1965), p. 294–308.

vantage of the flexibility of German has turned out to be a severe defect as regards the reception of German translations from Sanskrit.

With this background on the theory and practice of translating Sanskrit into Western languages, we shall now return to translations from Western languages into Sanskrit, namely of Cervantes' famous novel Don Quixote. In the volume about India's encounter with Quixote, most authors follow an agenda based on Romance Studies, and the methods employed, the topics pursued, and the academic standards are those connected to contemporary "Literaturwissenschaft" adapted to an Indian context. Whereas the European scholar would perhaps use the theories of Auerbach to approach his text, the Indian scholar might want to use Abhinavagupta's theories of literature and drama. But here the application of some of the theories is too haphazard to be meaningful. Speaking on topics like "Cervantes and India" we find the *rasa* theory juxtaposed with Vedāntic illusionism, or Bharata with Aristotle,[44] a blend of theories to which all ingredients could have rightly protested, but this is a theoretical universe of its own and out of tune with more historical or philological flavours of research. To quote Abhinavagupta's *Abhinavabhāratī* as saying "fiction should always talk about the archetypal"[45] only suggests to us that we better keep these approaches separate. This also applies to the post-colonial approach with its all-pervading power axiom, according to which everything necessarily has a political meaning or implication. In one publication on the global impact of Don Quixote, the fact that William Jones occasionally read Don Quixote with his wife[46] is interpreted as an unwillingness to share it with the "aborigines".[47] I shall stop with the review of secondary literature here,

[44] PREETI PANT: "The Natyashashtra and the Quixote on the Understanding of Fiction". In: *Quixotic Encounters*, p. 36. [45] Ibid., p. 37. No further bibliographical reference is given. [46] Mentioned in the entry "India" in the *Gran Enciclopedia Cervantina*, Vol. 6, p. 6184. [47] "Das bedeutet auch, dass die Hierarchien, die die Machtverhältnisse und das Prestige der verschiedenen Kulturen im Verhältnis zueinander ausdrücken, sich in einem ständigen Wandel befinden und durchaus widersprüchlich bleiben. In dieser Situation ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass einer der ersten dokumentierten Leser des Quijote in Indien anscheinend nichts unternimmt, um seine Lektüre mit den Einheimischen zu teilen." See HENRIETTE PARTZSCH: "Don Quijote globalisiert. Übersetzung und Universalität eines Klassikers der Weltliteratur". In: *Quijotexte, Quijothemen, Quijotheorien. Acht Annäherungen an Don Quijote*. Ed. MARCO KUNZ. University of Bamberg Press 2009, p. 135. Of course, the basis for this interpretation is Edward Said.

although many far-reaching interpretations could be quoted.[48] Common to all articles in the publication on Cervantes in India—with the exception of two by Ganguly—is the fact that none deals with individual translations, nor with the sources. The English translations actually used are never touched upon. It seems no attempt is made to deal with petty philological details.

It is therefore no wonder that the translations of the Don Quixote into Sanskrit and Kashmiri have remained almost unknown. These translations were produced by the Kashmirian Pandit Nityananda Shastri and Jagadhar Zadoo between 1935 and 1936, and the credit for making this known goes to S. N. Pandita, who described these translations briefly in a chapter of his book on Marc Aurel Stein.[49] The background given there is roughly as follows: When Stein was trying to acquire funds to continue his researches, the Harvard Sanskritist Charles R. Lanman tried to find support for his Central Asian tours from within the university. Thus, during the years 1928 and 1930, Stein was invited to give lectures on Central Asia in Harvard and the University eventually funded his expeditions. It was in Massachusetts that he met Carl Tilden Keller (1872–1955). After studying in Harvard, Keller worked as an accountant in Boston, and was a renowned book collector interested among other things in translations of Cervantes' Don Quixote into various languages of the world. The Houghton Library of Harvard University houses his collection, which contains one section devoted to his exchanges with Stein.[50] In his article Pandita does not explicitly disclose where some of his source materials, especially the exchange of letters between Stein and Nityananda Shastri, are kept, but it is to be assumed that they remain in the Nityananda Shastri Library Collection in New Delhi.

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[49] S. N. PANDITA: *Western Indologists and San*[illegible] Publications 2002. See there *Kashmiri and Sa*[illegible]*Kashmir*. New De[illegible]

[50] *Carl Tilden Keller Collection Concerning Sir* [illegible]*s of Don Quixot*[illegible] *Harvard University*. There are also letters by Stein [illegible]*m 2532). Houg*[illegible] Tibetan and Mongolian translations of Don Quixote [illegible]f Keller with o[illegible]

The drawback of Pandita's description is that in order to provide a continuous and edifying historical narrative he sometimes adds his own interpretations and makes it more difficult to ascertain the plain facts:[51]

> Hurrying a letter in English to Nityanand was never relished by Stein. He always desired to correspond with him in Sanskrit. The two were closer to each other's feelings when correspondence was in sacred Sanskrit. During the years 1931 and 1932 both had many occasions to meet one to one. During some of the long meetings Stein had with Nityanand, he told him about the desirability of translation of *Don Quixote*.

In fact we know the actual motive for and history of the Sanskrit and Kashmiri translations of Don Quixote from a letter of Stein to Nityananda (16.10.1935), as reported by Pandita:

> I am hard pressed by work and must therefore address you by dictating in English. I do so with regard to the translation into Sanskrit and Kashmiri which my friend, Mr. Kellor [sic] of Boston is anxious to secure from your scholarly hand. As I told you he has been collecting translations of that famous Spanish novel for many years. But he has not got any in Sanskrit or in Kashmiri. He would like to have different chapters translated into Sanskrit and other selected chapters into Kashmiri. He has sent a copy of an English translation of *Don Quixote*. I have marked in the contents of the two volumes those chapters of which I think a translation would be especially suitable. The book is a classic in Europe and by its humour, would probably make amusing reading for you [illegible]so. Please look at the book within next few days in order to [illegible]me know before I start about in ten days for Persia, whether [illegible]an undertake th[illegible] understand from your son that he [illegible] be able to take [illegible]e translations, as you dictated. In [illegible] should not [illegible] to undertake the work, please let [illegible] whether yo[illegible]mmend any competent person to

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[51] S. N[illegible]*rn Indolo*[illegible]*skrit Savants of Kashmir*, p. 277.

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[49] S. N. PANDITA: *Western Indologists and Sanskrit Savants of Kashmir*. New Delhi: Siddharth Publications 2002. See there *Kashmiri and Sanskrit Translations of Don Quixote*, p. 269–287.

[50] *Carl Tilden Keller Collection Concerning Sir Aurel Stein (MS Am 2532). Houghton Library, Harvard University*. There are also letters by Stein, correspondence of Keller with others about Tibetan and Mongolian translations of Don Quixote, etc.

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[51] S. N. PANDITA: *Western Indologists and Sanskrit Savants of Kashmir*, p. 277.

do it. I am very anxious to satisfy my friend in this wish. The translation would be in the end deposited in library of Harvard University, one of the greatest libraries in the world and thus perpetuate your name and your scholarship. If you do not feel equal to undertake the translation, kindly let me have the book back again when you send your reply within the next few days. I am at present stopping at Nagin Bagh where I could see you any day when you would care to come out in a boat.[52]

In March 1937 Stein acknowledges the receipt of the translation, but adds a further request: "I also returned the Sanskrit translation to Pandit Zadoo with the request to have it properly written in the old Kashmiri *Devanagari* style. He acknowledged the detailed instruction but up to the present, the desired copy has not yet come to hand. I should be grateful if you would kindly remind Pandit Zadoo about this work [. . .] The fair copy is in Mr. Keller's hand, who would prefer to keep it. Please ascertain whether the printing can be done."[53]

In May 1937 he acknowledges the receipt of the manuscripts, but nothing followed upon it. Perhaps all attempts to publish it came to naught during the Second World War. What remained are the Harvard manuscripts of the translations.[54]

The scribe, who produced the fair copy, was apparently not very conversant with Nāgarī, since he commits a number of mistakes typical for transcriptions from Śāradā. Mostly these have been emended by the second hand in red ink, which is most probably that of Stein himself.[55] Prefixed to the Sanskrit translation is a note by Stein and by Zadoo:

[52] S. N. PANDITA: *Western Indologists and Sanskrit Savants of Kashmir*, p. 280.
[53] S. N. PANDITA: *Western Indologists and Sanskrit Savants of Kashmir*, p. 284.
[54] One "fragmentary" copy of the Kashmirian version is reported in the online journal of the Delhi based Kashmir Research Institute *Unmesh* (http://ikashmir.net/unmesh/sept97.html).
[55] Some errors have, however, remained: *prakṣeptusārebhire* is for instance wrong for *prakṣeptum ārebhire*.

"The enclosed from Pandit Nityanand's colleague received on my passage through Baghdad about a week ago will show you that the fair copying of the Sanskrit translation has been taken in hand in accordance with my instructions. When the fair copy, done in traditional style, reaches me it shall go on to you without delay."

Sir Aurel Stein - Jan. 4, 1937

"I have carefully noted your instructions with regard to the copying of the ms. copy of Sanskrit translation of Don Quixote. The race of old traditional writers is now almost extinct and the old Kashmiri paper industry is also almost a tale of the past. However, with great difficulty I have been able to get one to copy our ms. in the style you desire me to do. There was also some difficulty experienced in getting the Kashmiri paper but through good luck I was able to get about 280 sheets of that paper of the size of 7" x 9". I have handed over the paper and the ms. to the copyist at the rate of 200 Anushtup verses a rupee."

J. N. Zadoo November 17, 1936

The Sanskrit text of Don Quixote immediately strikes the reader as unusually literal. Sometimes only a glance at the English version clarifies the Sanskrit syntax, which occasionally imitates the English as closely as to be almost incomprehensible. The interesting question is: how does the translator deal with Spanish realia. For instance, in one passage a group of Benedictine monks appear. The monks are called *saṃnyāsis*, which is easy enough to understand, but no self-explanatory translation for their monastic order was possible, and thus the denomination is simple transcribed as *benediktain*. When something is paid in the Spanish currency *real*, the translator decided to transcribe the word in the way he would pronounce it, that is as *rīl*. Here he could have used the common *dīnāra* without much loss, so we are led to assume that the translator made it a point of not completely masking the foreign character of the text. This is, however, done with great circumspection. When it is said of one character in the English version that he is not "worth a farthing" the translator does not try to imitate the idiom, but uses a corresponding Sanskrit one: "he does not value him even as grass".

Naturally there were rather complex problems to solve. When reading the following passage in the English version of Jarvis and pondering on how to turn this into convincing Sanskrit, one may get somewhat lost:

> And immediately he said over the cruse above four-score Paternosters, and as many Ave-Marias, Salves and Credos, and every word was accompanied with a cross, by way of benediction [. . .]

Nityananda Shastri did fare well with this; he decided to retain what he could not translate, but then added something familiar to clarify the context:

> *sadya eva sa tasya śuddhyai aśītisaṃkhyākān pīṭara nŏsṭar āve meris sālvas kriḍoz ityādimantrān viniyogasamanvitān saṃjajāpa / maṃgalārthe ca pratipadaṃ krŏsacihnaṃ vinidadhau /*

The Sanskrit reader will notice through this that the European prayers with their unfamiliar names were not unlike mantras. They were used for purification and to this end had to be accompanied with a statement of the application (*viniyoga*). Another such clarification concerns the cross, which, as the translator adds, is used *maṅgalārthe*. There are many other interesting loan-words like *paiṃta* "pint" or *rauṇḍ-ṭebal vīra* "knights of the round table".

Here is a short passage from the English version of Jarvis with its Sanskrit translation:

CHAPTER XXIII

Of what befell the renowned Don Quixote in the Sable Mountain, being one of the most curious and uncommon adventures of any related in this faithful history.

DON QUIXOTE, finding himself so ill treated, said to his squire: Sancho, I have always heard it said, that to do good to low fellows is to throw water into the sea. Had I believed what you said to me, I might

अथ डॉन-क्विक्षोटोपाख्याने त्रयोविंशतितमः
परिच्छेदः ॥

(सेबल-पर्वतोपरि विश्रुततर-डान्-क्विक्षोटाभिमुखं या घटना समापतत् , तस्याः वर्णनमत्र विश्वसनीयेऽस्मिन्नितिहासे वर्णितेषु महत्कृत्येषु मध्ये इयं सा एका घटना, या विस्मयातिरेकवर्धिनी अलौकिकी च ॥)

एवं संप्राप्तपराभवो डॉन्-क्विक्षोटो निजसांनहनिकं प्रोवाच –' सांचोपांज़ ! समुद्रे जलप्रक्षेप इव निजजनोपकारप्रदर्शनं – इति यत् कथ्यते बुधैस्तन्मया बहुवारं श्रुतमासीत् पूर्वम् । अपि च चेदऽहं त्वद्वचनमनुवर्तिष्ये , अह-

The passage is interesting in many respects.

1. The Kashmirian translator could not know that the "Sable Mountain" is the Sierra Morena. He interprets "sable" as a proper name and transcribes it. This is one of the instances, through which one can identify the English sources of this translation, for many authors do not translate Sierra Morena as "sable mountain". After some reading our guess was that the most likely candidate is the translation of Jarvis, which was for two hundred years the most popular English translation of the work.[56] But Jarvis' translation, first published in 1742, was re-edited

[56] See *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America.* 30.2 (Fall, 2010): 207–209.

with modifications to the wording every few years. Until 1936 there were nearly hundred re-editions. It is therefore no surprise that for a long time none of the versions available to us—often in the form of scans from Keller's library—were an exact match. After a protracted search Dragomir Dimitrov recently indentified as the most likely candidate the edition in the Oxford World Classic Series (Nos. CXXX und CXXXI) with a preface by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. It was published first in 1907 with regular reprints, and Stein might have preferred to send this inexpensive and readily available publication to Kashmir rather than any older version of Jarvis.

2. Here, as in many other instances, we find Sanskrit meanings derived from *tatsama* vernacular words, a feature often found in modern Sanskrit. One instance is *ghaṭanā* which is used for "incident" etc., so *yā ghaṭanā samāpatat* translates "what befell him".

3. Occasionally we cannot know, but would assume that an error in translation is due to the scribe. When "to do good to low fellows" is translated as *nijajanopakārapradarśanam*, we must assume that the translator had meant *nīcajana-*.

The whole project of editing Ḍān Kvikṣoṭa began with leisurely afternoon reading sessions, which were pursued for a few semesters by Dragomir Dimitrov, Stanislav Jager, Maximilian Mehner, and myself, occasionally including other scholars as Martin Straube or visiting scholars like Chandra Bhushan Jha (Delhi) and Shrikant Bahulkar (Pune). They combined interests of the various participants, in Spanish, in Modern Sanskrit, manuscript reading, etc., but in the end it yielded more interesting results than expected. Some of these, which—it must be emphasized here—are the result of our collective endeavour, have been summarized here. Further work on the edition and detailed analysis of the Sanskrit translation now rests in the hands of Dragomir Dimitrov.

From a modern Indian perspective a translation of Don Quixote into Sanskrit may seem negligible. The author of the first translation from Spanish

directly into Hindi, Vibha Maurya, says in an interview[57] that "there are translations of El Quijote into Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Kashmiri, and Hindi. But always made from English."[58] The earlier Hindi translation by the Sanskritist Chavinath Pandey (1964) she considers to be unsuitable for the modern reader, being written in a highly sanskritized Hindi.[59] So it seems that the Indian Cervantes experts have failed to notice that this translation is a singular instance of an unusually literal translation of a European classic into Sanskrit. Whether this is the first translation into Sanskrit that is not in the classical adaptive style, I am unable to say, since to my knowledge the history of translations of European works into Sanskrit still needs to be written.

[57] Interview conducted in November 2007 by Ma. Teresa Elizarrarás for *Revista de Estudios Cervantinos* 4 (2007–2008). [58] "Se debe mencionar que existen traducciones de El Quijote en bengali, marathi, tamil, casamiri y en hindi. Pero siempre hechas del inglés." Ibid. [59] "En el año 1964 la Academia de Letras de India publicó la primera traducción hecha del inglés por un profesor de sánscrito, el Dr. Chhavinath Pandey. La traducción contiene errores de comprensión del original, así como el lenguaje es arcaico, sanscritizado, por eso poco asequible." Ibid.

"Surpassing Bāṇa's Style" — Two Kashmirian Authors of the Nineteenth Century

Of our next author, Sāhib Rām, we do not know a date of birth, but he probably died in 1872. He was employed at the court of the Kashmirian Mahārāja Ranbir Singh,[60] and for providing context for his works some historical facts may be of help. Ranbir's father, Gulabh Singh, had been officer in Lahore, in the army of the famous ruler of the Sikhs, Ranjit Singh, whose realm at the time included Kashmir. Ranjit Singh was apparently fond of the two Dogra princes Gulabh Singh and his brother, and appointed them as local rulers to those areas from which the family came from, that is, Jammu and Kashmir. When Ranjit Singh died almost the whole of his family including potential heirs to his throne were killed in the fights about succession. In this phase Gulabh Singh, being as it were a Rāja without a functioning Mahārāja, could regain control over Jammu and Kashmir, and when the British, taking advantage of the confusion over the Lahore throne, defeated the Sikhs in 1846, he could by means of skillful diplomacy negotiate some independence of Jammu and Kashmir. To the British, who were outwitted by his skills, he became the "Jammu Fox",[61] whereas from an Indian perspective he was a clever ruler, who managed to retain his distance from the British. This phase in Anglo-Indian history is of course well-known, even in public memory. The golden throne of Ranjit Singh is on display in London in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and Ranjit Singh's most famous diamond, the Koh-i-Noor is now part of the British Crown Jewels. A large number of travel accounts gives a lively impression of this phase in Indian politics.[62]

Gulabh Singh's third son—the first two fell prey to assaults during the fights about succession—was Ranbir Singh, who succeeded his ailing father

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[60] See for instance SUKH DEV SINGH CHARAK: *Life and times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, 1830–1885*. Jammu 1985. [61] BAWA SATINDER SINGH: *The Jammu Fox. A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir, 1792–1857*. Carbondale 1974. Compare also ROBERT A. HUTTENBACK: "Gulab Singh and the Creation of the Dogra State of Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh." In: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 20. 4 (1961): 477–488, and BAWA SATINDER SINGH: "Raja Gulab Singh's Role in the First Anglo-Sikh War." In: *Modern Asian Studies* 5.1 (1971): 35–59. [62] A particularly entertaining description of this time is given by the Transsylvanian traveller Martin Honigberger. See JOHANN MARTIN HONIGBERGER: *Als Leibarzt am Hofe des »Löwen vom Panjab« Ranjit Singh*. Nachdruck der *Reiseerlebnisse*, Wien 1853, mit einem Nachwort von Jürgen Hanneder. Halle 2011.

in 1856. When a year later the *Mutiny* endangered British sovereignty in India, Ranbir Singh agreed to send Kashmirian troops to assist the British in quelling the uprise. Cleverly, he did not expect a reward, but it was understood that his rule in Jammu and Kashmir would be accepted by the British.

The reign of Ranbir Singh was not without problems: in 1872 there was a conflict between Muslim fractions who dominated the economically important weaving of the Kashmirian shawls. When the European market for these fabrics collapsed after the French-German war, there was an uprise of the weavers. There were also several famines and earthquakes with terrible consequences for large parts of the population. His reign also saw a kind of revival of Hindu culture. He founded the *Raghunatha Temple Library*, which houses a large collection of manuscripts copied often from Srīnagar archetypes. He opened schools, employed teaching staff and encouraged the translation of important works[63] in order to account for the multilingual culture of Kashmir. While it seemed to some authors within Iranian Studies that Sanskrit had at the time become negligible as a source language,[64] this does not hold true for Ranbir Singh's time.

Also the research on older Kashmirian literature received a great impetus through the activities of Ranbir Singh. Many works that now belong to the most interesting areas within Sanskrit literature were discovered when scholars made research tours to Kashmir and were assisted by the Kashmir government. The most well-known report was made by the German indologist Bühler.[65] Bühler, equipped with letters of recommendation from a former employee of Ranjit Singh, was received by Ranbir Singh himself, a meeting he describes as follows:[66]

> On the following day I had an interview with H. H. Mahârâja Râṇâ Vîrasiṁha.[67] The Mahârâja himself is well acquainted with Sanskrit and understands it perfectly, though he does not speak

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[63] "A special feature of service in these institutions was the teacher's ability to translate. A part of the salary in each grade was fixed as remuneration for translation work [. . .]" SUKH DEV SINGH CHARAK: *Life and times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, 1830–1885*, p. 255. [64] Compare SIEGFRIED WEBER: *Die persische Verwaltung Kaschmirs (1842–1892)*. Wien: Verl. der Österr. Akad. der Wiss. 2007. Vol. 1, p. 56f. [65] *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss. made in Kásmír, Rajputana, and Central India*. Bombay/London 1877. [66] Op. cit., p. 3f. [67] The transliteration is strangely wrong, it should read *raṇavīra*.

"Surpassing Bāṇa's Style" — Two Kashmirian Authors of the Nineteenth Century

Of our next author, Sāhib Rām, we do not know a date of birth, but he probably died in 1872. He was employed at the court of the Kashmirian Mahārāja Ranbir Singh,[60] and for providing context for his works some historical facts may be of help. Ranbir's father, Gulabh Singh, had been officer in Lahore, in the army of the famous ruler of the Sikhs, Ranjit Singh, whose realm at the time included Kashmir. Ranjit Singh was apparently fond of the two Dogra princes Gulabh Singh and his brother, and appointed them as local rulers to those areas from which the family came from, that is, Jammu and Kashmir. When Ranjit Singh died almost the whole of his family including potential heirs to his throne were killed in the fights about succession. In this phase Gulabh Singh, being as it were a Rāja without a functioning Mahārāja, could regain control over Jammu and Kashmir, and when the British, taking advantage of the confusion over the Lahore throne, defeated the Sikhs in 1846, he could by means of skillful diplomacy negotiate some independence of Jammu and Kashmir. To the British, who were outwitted by his skills, he became the "Jammu Fox",[61] whereas from an Indian perspective he was a clever ruler, who managed to retain his distance from the British. This phase in Anglo-Indian history is of course well-known, even in public memory. The golden throne of Ranjit Singh is on display in London in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and Ranjit Singh's most famous diamond, the Koh-i-Noor is now part of the British Crown Jewels. A large number of travel accounts gives a lively impression of this phase in Indian politics.[62]

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The reign of Ranbir Singh [illegible] expressed by Neo-Hinduism. This has conflict between Muslim [illegible] not pure scholars, but Christian theolo- tant weaving of the Kashmirian [illegible] Schomerus[70], became pioneers of the fabrics collapsed after [illegible] they were interested in their monotheism. The weavers. There were [illegible] this field of Sanskrit came later are still visible: quences for large parts of [illegible] Sanskrit prepared during the nineteenth century of Hindu culture. [illegible] of Sanskrit literature.

a large collection of [illegible] naturally focussed on the old and rare famous works, opened schools [illegible] Abhinavagupta. There were attempts to publish later important works [illegible] during the twentieth century the activites in the *Kashmir* While it seemed [illegible] *Studies* waned, it seemed that Kashmirian literature had the time became [illegible] in the pre-islamic era. The wider perspective of the Ranbir Singh's time [illegible] Bühler and Stein, who culled their information directly

Also the recent [illegible], not through the filter of editions, was lost. In this respect tus through [illegible] M. A. Stein is a good example:[71] his manuscripts in the the most interesting [illegible] [72] are in fact not centered on the early phase, the collection scholars [illegible] written until his own time. But in the twentieth century the government. [illegible] Kashmirian works seemed to many to be already complete, and gist Bühler [illegible] represented by what had been printed. The neglect coincides with a employee of [illegible] negative view of "later Sanskrit". According to some authors, describ[illegible] declined already after Kālidāsa, or at least after the great Mahākāvyas [illegible] written, [illegible] vigour or even died in the early second [illegible]ium.[73]

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[illegible]rdo Schomerus [illegible] sor for the History of Religion in Halle. [illegible] Obrock [illegible] *Illustrated Rājataraṅgiṇī. Together with* [illegible] *Critical Not*[illegible] 2013. [72] See Gerard Clauson: [illegible] in collect[illegible] Kashmir." In: JRAS 1912, p. 578–627. Jü[illegible] "Moder[illegible] [illegible] Literatur." In: *Pāsādikadānam.* [illegible] *Festschr*[illegible] *Pāsādika.* [illegible] Marburg 2009, p. 205–228.

> it. He is also versed in the Śâstras, especially in Vedânta and Dharma, on which latter he is said to have composed a treatise. He received me very kindly, and gave orders that all Pandits whom I might wish to see should be asked to visit me, and that every assistance should be given me. He was also good enough to take me to his Mudrissa, and to allow me to examine some of his pupils in his presence. The active manner in which he took part in the examination showed that he was well acquainted with the subjects taught, and that he took a real interest in the work of education. This Mudrissa, which is the chief educational institution in Kaśmîr, contains, besides a Sanskrit college where poetry, poetics, grammar, and philosophy are studied, Persian classes and a school of industry. Mathematics are taught, according to a Dogra translation of the *Lilâvatî*. Its head is Pandit Râmjîv, the son of Pandit Râjkâk, who combines the office of Superintendent of Education with that of the revenue officer [. . .] I examined several classes in Sanskrit, Euclid, and algebra, and most of the boys did very fairly.

The quotation confirms the multilinguality in his reign. The textbook for mathematics is in Dogri, perhaps the most practical, down-to-earth language used. But also Sanskrit as well as Persian were cultivated; English is not mentioned. The parallel use of Sanskrit and Persian naturally lead to questions about the underlying social realities, and Bühler, when he enquired about the two spheres, was told that both were totally apart: "When I first inquired into the relations between these several sections of the Kaśmîrian Brahmans, I was told that the Sanskrit-studying and the Persian-studying Pandits did not intermarry."[68] But that was apparently only the ideal, because he adds: "Later my informants recollected cases of marriages between children of officials and of the men of Śâstras, and they modified their statement accordingly."[69]

The time of Ranbir Singh is interesting, because in this period the foundations were laid for the various editorial activities that culminated in the enormous canon of Kashmirian works available now. Without it we would not know of the long and continuous tradition of Indian historiography, and an-

[68] Bühler: *Detailed Report*, p. 20. [69] Ibid.

other field of research that would be almost unthinkable without Kashmirian texts is that of Śaiva and Tantric studies. Of course, even after publication, these works were studied only hesitantly, because they became known at a time when Vedic and then Buddhist Studies were *en vogue* and there was still the remnant of the ban on Tantrism as expressed by Neo-Hinduism. This has led to the unusual constellation that not pure scholars, but Christian theologians and missionaries, as for instance Schomerus[70], became pioneers of the study of Tantric systems, since they were interested in their monotheism. The repercussions of the fact that this field of Sanskrit came later are still visible: The larger dictionaries of Sanskrit prepared during the nineteenth century remained weak on this segment of Sanskrit literature.

Editorial activities naturally focussed on the old and rare famous works, as for instance, those by Abhinavagupta. There were attempts to publish later works too, but when during the twentieth century the activites in the *Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies* waned, it seemed that Kashmirian literature had its highlights mostly in the pre-islamic era. The wider perspective of the European pioneers Bühler and Stein, who culled their information directly from manuscripts, not through the filter of editions, was lost. In this respect the collection of M. A. Stein is a good example:[71] his manuscripts in the Bodleian library[72] are in fact not centered on the early phase, the collection contains works written until his own time. But in the twentieth century the canon of Kashmirian works seemed to many to be already complete, and well-represented by what had been printed. The neglect coincides with a wide-spread negative view of "later Sanskrit". According to some authors, poetry declined already after Kālidāsa, or at least after the great Mahākāvyas had been written, to others it lost its vigour or even died in the early second millennium.[73]

You will not be surprised that in these lectures I am trying to convince you that there are also later authors whose works deserve editing, but at this

[70] Hilko Wiardo Schomerus (1879–1945) was Professor for the History of Religion in Halle.
[71] See now Luther Obrock (ed.): *Marc Aurel Stein – Illustrated Rājataraṅgiṇī. Together with Eugen Hultzsch's Critical Notes and Stein's Maps.*. Halle 2013. [72] See Gerard Clauson: "Catalogue of the Stein collection of Sanskrit Mss. from Kashmir." In: JRAS 1912, p. 578–627.
[73] Jürgen Hanneder: "Modernes Sanskrit. Eine vergessene Literatur." In: *Pāsādikadānam. Festschrift für Bhikkhu Pāsādika.* Hrsg. Martin Straube et al. Marburg 2009, p. 205–228.

point I merely want to say that in the cases I shall present here judgement was passed before the accused had even been heard. These texts have not been made the object of research before.

In contemporary Indology there is the wide-spread notion that modern Sanskrit can in no way match the sophistication and perfection of classical Sanskrit and that modern authors are at best second rank. For this reason it is worth reading what Bühler had to say about a poet whom he visited in Kashmir:

> As regards the present state of literary activity, I can say that I saw one really distinguished Pandit, who would be able to hold up his head anywhere,—Dâmodar, the son of Sâhebrâm, the chief teacher in the Mahârâja's Mudrisssa [. . .] His own poetical composition,—a continuation of the *Râjatarangiṇî*, and a letter-writer entitled *Prauḍhalekhâḥ*, which he was good enough to read and to explain to me for hours,—certainly surpass Śrîharsha and Bâṇa, and can be only compared to Subandhu's *Vâsavadattâ*.[74]

Now Bühler, at least for German indologists, is of some authority. Why international Indology never even looked at the works of Sāhib Rām and his son Dāmodara therefore remains a mystery to me. Perhaps they never fitted into academic fashions. In order to be employable aspiring scholars had and have to prove their abilities in fields that were or are *en vogue* and mentioned in the job advertisement.[75] Entirely new fields are more likely to confuse than to interest a search committee. This and other reasons may explain the absurd situation that despite those materials being available in Europe for a long time—even physically, since Stein's collection is now in the Bodleian Library—they did not matter much to Indology. The interesting question of course remains: Even if Bühler was only mildly exaggerating the literary quality of the works of Dāmodara, was he correct?

Solving this question is unfortunately not so simple. Since a few years I have tried to motivate students with an interest in editorial work to take up

[74] BÜHLER: *Detailed Report*, p. 26. [75] Judging from recent German examples, the focus is usually on religion, often Buddhism is required, rarely Hinduism. Older standard specializations, as Vedic studies, are no more in focus, specializations that would seem natural in other philologies (as, for instance, literature) seem out of the question, although it is quite unclear, why this is so.

some of the unknown pieces in Stein's collection of Kashmirian manuscripts. The first result was the so-called *Fifth Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Dāmodara edited by my student Bidur Bhattarai in Marburg,[76] a continuation of those of Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja, Śrīvara including the editions by Śuka or Prājyabhaṭṭa. While the work was very interesting, it did not display the sparkling style Bühler was talking about. Stein's copy was prepared directly from the autograph, and it seems that Dāmodara passed away before finishing the work. Stein writes: "At the time that these passages are passing through the press news reaches me that this most learned and amiable of all Kashmirian scholars has fallen a victim to the epidemic now raging in the Valley [. . .]".[77] The apograph seems to reproduce the author's copy in much detail: we find that in few places the text is given in two columns, one contains a prose version of the text, the other a versified one. Most probably Dāmodara formulated his ideas in prose first and then put them into Ślokas, for the main part of the text itself is metrical. This is one of the rare and interesting cases, where we can look into an author's workshop!

Then we have a so-called "letter-writer"[78] attributed to Dāmodara, which Stein describes as follows: "Specimens of letters, composed by the late Pandit Dâmodar by order of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Original copy, sold to me by Pt. Mahânandajîva, son of Pandit Dâmodar, who attests that this letter-writer was adapted from a Persian text. Srinagar Sept. 30, 1892 M. A. Stein."[79] If we look at this text, we find letters addressed to various recipients, to the "son" (*apatya*), to the head of a village, to the king (*rājānaṃ prati vijñaptipatrikā* fol. 8), to a father (fol. 10ff.), uncle, guru (16ff), the rest is again devoted to an *apatya*. Since there is more than one hand involved and the quality of the text is in some parts problematic, it is doubtful whether this was really, as attested by Pandit Mahānandajīva, the "original".

Then there is another letter-writter attributed to his father, but partly written by the son, which is called "Lekhaśikṣā śrīpaṇḍitasahibrāmakṛtiḥ". In this manuscript the name *sahibrāma* stands over a deleted *dāmodara*. An explanation is given in Stein's description: "This copy was prepared from the

[76] Master thesis. Marburg 2010. [77] Preface to MARC AUREL STEIN: *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī. Vol. 1. Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes*. Bombay/Leipzig 1892, p. xviii, note 1. [78] For the genre, see INGO STRAUCH: *Die Lekhapaddhati-Lekhapañcāśikā: Briefe und Urkunden im mittelalterlichen Gujarat*. Berlin: Reimer 2002. [79] Ms. Stein or. c. 10, last folio.

original MS. of the author (written partly by him partly by his son Pandit Damodar) in September 1892. M. A. Stein."[80] From the copy we cannot know where the juncture was. It is written in Devanāgarī and has quite a few corrections by a second hand, which concern usually omissions and misspelt letters.

For possible candidates for the artistic style Bühler was praising, there are furthermore the fragmentary historiographic materials written not by Dāmodara, but by his father Sāhib Rām, which have been edited in another Marburg project by Anett Krause.[81] After perusing these materials, it is possible to make sense of Bühler's enthusiasm.

The second *Lekhaśikṣā*, which is attributed to both authors, is written in a highly artistic Praśasti-like style, which indeed reminds one of the classical prose novel in Sanskrit. The assumption that such a work, in an environment dominated by a persophone administration, was fed by the Persian genre of *inšā'* must have been obvious to Kashmirians,[82] for since Mogul times there were *munšīs* trained with Persian handbooks.[83] In this Persian epistolography, however, one distinguished an Indian and a Persian style,[84] and since such scribes were also Hindus, the functions of the Munshi and the Kāyastha could easily overlap. Whatever the source of Sāhib Rām's and his son's letter-writer,[85] both appear to be an attempt to re-establish an official Sanskrit correspondence, which would accord with the other attempts at Ranbir Singh's court to support Sanskrit.

More efforts would have to be made to establish the sources for the letter-writers, but this is—precisely because of the sophisticated style—not a straightforward task, since the work is puzzling and at the same time in-

[80] Ms. Stein. or. d. 34. [81] *Sāhibrāms Arbeiten zur Geschichte Kaschmirs: Erstedition und Analyse ausgewählter Textstellen.* Ph.D. dissertation, Marburg 2016. [82] See ADRIAN GULLY: *The culture of letter-writing in pre-modern Islamic societies.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2008. And: ISHTIYAQ AHMAD ZILLI: "Development of Insha literature to the end of Akbar's reign". In: *The making of Indo-Persian culture: Indian and French studies* (2000). [83] *Tuhfat al-hind, Nigārnāma-yi munšī.* See ALAM & SUBRAHMANYAM: "The making of a Munshi". In: *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24/2 (2004), p. 61–72. [84] See MOIN MOHINUDDIN: "Sabk-i-Hindi", *Indo-Iranica* (Calcutta) 1959. [85] The genre seems to have a certain continuity in Sanskrit, for which see STRAUCH: *Die Lekhapaddhati-Lekhapañcāśikā.* The introduction in *Pushpa Prasad: Lekhapaddhati. Documents of State and Everyday Life from Ancient and Early Medieval Gujarat.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press 2007 is also worth reading.

teresting on many accounts.[86] Even without being able to judge the Persian literary tradition myself it was my impression that the work can be explained in continuity of ornate Sanskrit prose.

As an example I give the beginning of one such polite address to an unnamed recipient (Ms Stein or. d. 34, fol. 16v):

svasti śrīmadanuguṇagaṇānavadyasvavidyādyudbhūtaprabhūtasadyaśaḥstomasomāvadātīkṛtāśeṣāvakāśeṣu madīyamanovihagārāmeṣu śrīmaddhīvānasāhibhopākhyaśrīśrīśrīmatkṛpārāmeṣu madhusūdanadevadattaprasādadattā aśiṣāṃ tatayaḥ samullasantatarām

Other letters of the same collection display an even more elaborate string of compounded expression: one example, of which I quote only the beginning, is to be found on folio 14:

[86] On fol. 18 a chapter is introduced *atha śabdavāṃ[?]vibhāgaprakaraṇaṃ nirūpyate*, but there is no further indication of a chapter later in the text. On fol. 66 some historical names appear in the letters, which makes one wonder whether some are actual historical samples.

oṃ tat sat aihikāmutrikapuruṣārthasādhanībhūtasamastavidyā-taraṅgiṇīvikramaṇāspadarahasyanayanirantaraparicayāsādi-taviśuddhabodhoddyotaniḥśeṣīkṛtavāsāntaratamobharatatpra-kāśavilāsotphullitāntakamparutkajapratyāyitabhāsvanmūrty-anarcāgaṇyālakṣyānupamatijavākpīyūṣā [. . .]

This is merely the beginning of an extremely long-winding address of a dignitary, where his high status is expressed through a long litany of polite and flattering phrases all squeezed into a single compound, which would probably reinforce all European stereotypes about Indian poetry.[87] But a more apt way to understand it, would be to describe their *function* in the context of communication with the king, just as one would nowadays describe the genre of "Huldigungsschriften" in its political function.[88]

Further indication of a high literary sophistication is not found in works of Dāmodara, but in one of Sāhib Rām. In what appear to be the unfinished materials for a *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we find a description of the court of Ranbir Singh. One stanza there contains an Indo-Persian paronomasia. Such *bhāṣāśleṣas* are not unknown,[89] but they usually concern Sanskrit and Prakrit, where the task is to find words common to both languages, as if someone would write a sentence that could be read in Latin and in Italian. In Sāhib Rām's text, which would be incomprehensible without his long auto-commentary, the Sanskrit yields in the third layer of meaning the names of some individuals in the entourage of Ranbir Singh. An interpretation of a whole stanza is beyond the scope of the work, but I shall give one example.[90]

Ranbir Singh is described in one expression as *moṭīsiṃharasadgalo*, which is explained as "one, under whom wealth (*mā* = *lakṣmī*) accumulates (*ūti* = *vṛddhi*), and who roars like a lion" (*siṃharasadgala iti siṃhavad rasan*

[87] As listed by Rau as "hündische Schmeichelei", "abgeschmackte Übertreibungen, leerer, geschraubter Bombast" etc. See *Wilhelm Rau. Kleine Schriften*. Hrsg. Konrad Klaus and Joachim Friedrich Sprockhoff. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012. Vol. 1, p. 230. [88] See Claudia Kleinhub, Johannes Mangei (eds.) *Vivat! Huldigungsschriften am Weimarer Hof*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2010. [89] See Michael Hahn: "Der Bhāṣāśleṣa – eine Besonderheit kaschmirischer Dichter?". In: Roland Steiner (ed.): *Highland Philology. Results of a Text-Related Kashmir Panel at the 31st DOT, Marburg 2010*, Halle 2012, p. 77–105. [90] The passage is discussed by Anett Krause in her dissertation *Sāhibrāms Arbeiten zur Geschichte Kaschmirs*, p. 56f.

śabdāyamāno galo yasya siṃhagarjanakārītyarthaḥ), not an unusual imagery for referring to a king.

In the second layer of meaning the non-Sanskritic (*bhāṣā*) word *moṭī* is understood as "pearl" (*mauktika*). "Lion pearls" are understood as the "best pearls" shining at the kings collar (*motīsiṃhā mauktikaśreṣṭhāni tair hāralatārūpeṇa rasan lasamāno galo yasyeti*).

The third level of meaning is historically the most interesting and the one that explains the almost obscurantistic choice of the words *mā* for wealth and *ūti* for growth: *moṭīsiṃha* is of course Moṭī Singh, the third son of Gulabh Singh's brother Dhyān Singh. Now the question is: in what sense is Ranbir Singh's relative Moṭī Singh shining (*lasat*) at his throat? The question is relevant, since both Moṭī Singh and his brother had demanded land from Gulabh Singh via the British resident in Lahore. The land was not granted by the authorities, but Gulabh Singh gave it to him nevertheless and thereby pacified the potential conflict. The verse contains in the same hidden way the names of many other participants of the royal assembly and displays an extremely artistic mastery of Sanskrit. In any case the two examples are sufficient explanation of Bühler's praise directed to the son, but actually due to the father.

Sāhib Rām was furthermore translator of a Persian *nīti* work, the *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, into Sanskrit under the name *Vīraratnaśekharaśikhā*.[91] Translations from Persian or Arabic *into* Sanskrit are as fascinating as they are understudied. S. R. Sarma[92] has given a lively description of the various activities on the side of "Hindu" Pandits to adapt "Muslim" astrology and astronomy and has pointed to the fact that there are even examples of Sufis writing on Sanskrit poetology,[93] but concludes from his survey of different translation activities: "Compared to this wide range of texts translated from the Sanskrit into Persian, those that were translated from Persian into Sanskrit have a much narrower range. No attempt at all was made to understand Islam".[94] If we ignore the technical, mostly astrological works, there are only few examples of literary

[91] For the details on the Persian source I am indebted to Christoph Werner and Anna Martin.
[92] S. R. Sarma: "From Yāvanī to Saṃskṛtam. Sanskrit Writings inspired by Persian Works." In: *Studies in the History of Indian Thought* 14 (2002) [Department of Indian Philosophy. Kyoto University], p. 71–88. [93] He refers to Akbar Shah's *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*, which is a scholarly reaction to Bhānumiśra's *Rasamañjarī*. Ibid., p. 77. [94] Ibid, p. 79f.

translations into Sanskrit. First, there is Śrīvara's *Kathākautuka* (1505), an adaptation of the Persian classic *Jusuf-u Zulaikha*, which has received some attention because of the pioneering studies by Richard Schmidt.[95]

From Persian to Sanskrit

The Delārāmākathāsāra

A second instance is the *Delārāmākathāsāra* by Rājānaka Bhaṭṭa Āhlādaka,[96] a narrative poem of 472 verses in 13 chapters. The author is obviously Kashmirian,[97] but nothing more is known of him. As the second published instance of a translation[98] of a Persian work into Sanskrit, it should command some attention, and I shall therefore present here a first analysis.[99]

When introducing his work the author says:

> *eṣā kathā mausalaśāstradṛṣṭā*
> *bhūyiṣṭhasadvācyamahāviśiṣṭā*
> *manovinodāya satāṃ janānāṃ*
> *girvāṇavāṇyā kriyate mayādya*

> This story as seen in books of the Muslims and greatly endowed with plentiful good expressions (?[100]) is now composed by me in the language of the Gods (Sanskrit) in order to entertain good men.

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[95] Richard Schmidt: *Das Kathākāutukam des Śrīvara verglichen mit Dschāmī's Jusuf und Zuleikha nebst Textproben*. Kiel: Haeseler 1893. And his: *Śrīvara's Kathākāutukam: Die Geschichte von Joseph in persisch-indischem Gewande. Sanskrit und Deutsch*. Kiel: Haeseler 1898. [96] Edited as volume 77 of the Kāvyamālā Series. Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press 1902. [97] The title of *rājānaka* was given to members of the families of Kashmirian ministers. [98] The term is used here not in a modern sense implying a “literal translation”, but as encompassing a variety of types of pre-modern adaptations or acculturations. [99] For the following I would like to thank Ulrich Marzolph for providing me with the crucial materials, and Anna Martin for helping me with many Persian related questions. [100] I am a bit puzzled by the word *vācya* here. It is not very likely the author means to refer to the “blemishes” of the work.

The work is therefore unlikely to be much older than the time of Śrīvara, but no further clue has surfaced up to now. S. R. Sarma, to whom the credit for pointing out the importance of the work must go, says about it:[101]

> The poem deals with the adventures of Ibrahīm and Murād, the two sons of the Sulṭān Muḥammad of Aleppo. The book is named after a courtesan Dil-ārām who plays an important role in the story. The fortunes of the princes depend on the possession of a bird with a magic heart.

The work indeed contains the internationally wide-spread motif of the *The Magic Bird-Heart*, which has been studied extensively by Aarne in his dissertation[102] and is classified as AaTh/ATU 567.[103] Elements of the story are known from Sanskrit sources, for instance, the boy who finds gold under his pillow every day and becomes king is related in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, a fairly complete version is contained in the *Kathāratnākara* (to be discussed below), and there are further Kashmirian non-literary versions.[104] There is a Persian version in Naḫšabī's *Ṭūṭī-Nāma*,[105] but while it shares motifs, it is more straightforward and there is no exact match for many of the motifs contained in the *Delārāmākathāsāra*.

Since there is neither translation nor analysis of the work, I shall give a summary below, but it has to be noted that the text as presented by the only edition is defective—there is a gap between chapters 2 and 3, which the editors identify exactly.[106] Occasional question marks by the editor referring to a corrupt reading as well as emendations in brackets suggest that the editors did not have access to a second manuscript, at least this is as much as we can say in the total absence of any introduction.[107]

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[101] Sarma: “From Yāvanī to Saṃskṛtam”, p. 84. [102] Annti Aarne: *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*. Helsingfors 1908, p. 143–200. [103] I am very grateful to Ulrich Marzolph for identifying the story and providing me with his analysis. See Ulrich Marzolph: “Vogelherz: Das wunderbare V.” In: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 14.1 (2011), p. 292–295. [104] Aarne: *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*, p. 168. [105] See *The Cleveland Museum of Art's Ṭūṭī-Nāma. Tales of a Parrot. By Ziya' u'd-din Nakhshabi*. Translated and edited by Muhammed A. Simsar. Cleveland/Graz 1978, p. 323–330. [106] Apparently the two last verses (24–25) of the second chapter are missing and the first 12 and a half verses of chapter 3. [107] The reader should note that, since this is a Kashmirian text, foreign words spelt with an “e” may well transcribe “ī”, so, for instance, Merabhaktā might also have been pronounced Mīrabhaktā.

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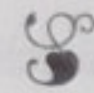
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The Story of Delārāmā (Summary)

The work starts with an unusual invocation, in which the deity is simply called *khadaiva*, a word which is not in the normal (Hindu) vocabulary,[108] but seems deliberately used to avoid giving the "Muslim" story a Hindu frame. The second verse quoted above gives "Muslim works" as the source, states that the text is a translation or adaptation and that its purpose is entertainment.

The work itself commences with a description of the famous country Halābha (1.3–14)—already identified as Aleppo (*Ḥalab*) by Sarma—as a prosperous and peaceful realm by employing a figure of Sanskrit poetics, which involves a type of hidden praise (*vyājastuti*), that is by describing a defect in such a way that it turns out to be a virtue. For instance, it is said that this country was not free from sorrow/concern (*cintā*), but it was only the concern for embracing women, drinking alcohol and games; quarrel was only found between clamouring birds, rage only between co-wives, and so forth.

With the images employed in the first description the author sets the tone right from the beginning: The reader is to expect a tale involving erotic episodes—most of the images point in this direction. Immediately the reader becomes aware of the fact that this is no plain and simple narrative,[109] but that the change of metre for dramatic effect, the insertion of descriptions of a country, or more often of a woman, and the alternating of such highly poetic passages with others, in which the progress of the plot is narrated in less ornate language reveals a conscious effort on the side of the author to transform his sources into a piece of poetry.

In this country there is a Sultan[110] Muhammad and his wife Merabhaktā. They are introduced with the usual polite words, but in view of the prevailing conventions of exuberant praise of the monarch this sounds rather lukewarm (1.15–16). The "good" monarch, being too attached to love games with his wife and other lovers,[111] does not care for his kingdom—thereby providing a completely different angle to the introductory praise of the lack of concern in

[108] The only instance of a use of that word that I could find is in Śuka's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. 2.79 (SRIKANTH KAUL (ed.): *Rājataraṅgiṇī of Śrīvara and Śuka*. Hoshiarpur 1966). [109] As the parallel in the *Kathāratnākara*, for which see below. [110] Sanskritized as *suratrāṇa*. [111] This is explicitly emphasized in 1.17a.

his country! This goes on until his best ministers also become disinterested (1.18).

Then one day a barber brings a mirror to his courtyard, and when he looks at his own grey hair and beard he is shocked that he has not accomplished anything worthy of a king, but wasted his best years (1.21). Frustrated he goes on a hunting party, where "on the way his sharpened arrows strike down to earth many living beings" (1.23). He strays from his party, reaches a cavern and sees a deer, shining and fearless.

Here, until the end of the chapter (that is, 1.25–35), a different metre is employed to emphasize the crucial encounter that follows: "When the king saw her, he immediately drew the sharpened arrow[112] to strike her. But the deer paused and spoke in human voice to the startled king: "O Lord! Today I have come for your sake, therefore relax your drawn bow.[113] I shall tell you something [. . .]" (1.25–26).

The deer says it has descended from heaven and predicts that the king will lose all his belongings because of his bad *karma*. He is presented with the option to either suffer it at once, or go back to his kingdom and wait until it has ripened, implying that then the result will be much worse. The king is undecided and wants to ask his wife first. The deer agrees, he returns to his city, brings in Merabhaktā, dismisses all attendants and relates with tear-choked voice the words of the deer (1.31). Merabhaktā is greatly troubled but argues that it is better to face fate as long as there is enough power in his body to endure such hardship (1.32). The king leaves in the morning and under the pretext of going hunting, leaves his servants, ministers and soldiers behind. With this the first chapter ends. Perhaps the chapter change is introduced for dramatic effect, but it does not accord well with normal Kāvya conventions, according to which a chapter is often in a single metre, whereas the last verse is typically marked by a different metre. In our text there is such a change in the last verse,[114] but then the new metre continues into the second chapter.

The king meets the deer and tells her that he accepts his misfortune today (2.1). The deer is astonished and disappears. Now the *karma* takes immediate effect. First his horse suddenly dies. The king, now walking the wilderness

[112] The Sanskrit expression is literally "to draw the arrow from (abl.) the string". [113] Lit.: "arrow and bow". [114] The encounter with the deer is phrased in Vasantatilakas, the last verse of the first chapter is in Mālinī.

with lowered head, when approaching his camp (*kaṭaka*), sees a party of armed hunters approach[115] (2.3). Faced with this, all his companions[116] take to flight on their "excellent horses", leaving the king behind on foot (2.4). When the whole army is gone,[117] the wild tribesmen[118] see the poor pedestrian, and bind him. They take his ornaments, beat him and leave him covered in blood (2.6). Back in the city, his former comrades quickly entrust the kingdom to someone else (2.7).

When the king eventually returns to his city, he sees his beloved wife Merabhaktā crying and with sullied clothes roaming the streets in fear (2.9). She tells her husband with tear-choked voice that the kingdom has been very quickly given by the ministers to another king who came to town (2.12) and that she has to flee—as her husband, who would surely be killed by the enemies (2.13).

Thereupon the couple emigrates to a land that is neither virtuous nor characterized by bravery, where not even poetry is held in esteem (2.17). Here the king, whose body is "soft", that is, not used to hard work, has to resort to a detested livelihood worthy only of the lowest castes. Every morning at sunrise his wife gives him bread to eat on the way and he returns only in the evening from his work in the forest to sell fire wood[119] in the town market. After some time his wife gives birth to two sons, who bear the marks of kings.

Of chapter 3 unfortunately the first twelve and a half verses are missing, and the gap in the story can only be tentatively filled from what follows. The third chapter as transmitted starts within the conversation o[illegible]n with a merchant, who pays her three hundred dīnāras for an egg [illegible]el[120] and promises to pay her the same amount for more similar jew[illegible]w it is said, and this shows what must have been the content of t[illegible] that on the next day she approaches the bird [illegible] great hop[illegible] another incomparable shining egg (3.21). T[illegible] must have contained the story how the quee[illegible] of the thir[illegible] queen sells one jewel egg daily and acquires [illegible] magical b[illegible] [illegible]he can t[illegible]

[115] One would better read *vyādhasenājagāma* for *vyādhasen*[illegible] *āmātya* here as different from the *sacivas* he is said to have left be[illegible] may ta[illegible] contradiction. [117] Here the story remains confused: if it is his army [illegible] to avoi[illegible] as said before. [118] Called variously *vyādha* (3d), *śabara* (4b) and *pu*[illegible] alone [illegible] later, see 3.30: *indhana*. [120] *maṇim aṇḍam*. [illegible]fied

husband that there is no more need to pursue his exhausting job as a wood collector (3.28). The couple regains wealth and even employs servants.

But the queen meets the merchant regularly to sell the jewels and brings food and alcohol from her house, and they start a sexual relationship. Blinded by passion the queen does not even think of her two royal sons any more, and the chapter ends with the narrator's lament that the bad behaviour of women has no end.

In the fourth chapter we hear that in the house of the merchant there was an old woman, who was a witch.[121] Seeing the coming and going day and night, the old woman is amused and uses all arguments to convince the merchant to tell her what she so eagerly wants to hear. The merchant cannot keep the secret, excusing himself by the remark that the mind of women is unsteady as an ape (4.6cd). He tells her that she is the wife of a disrobed king and that she sells her jewels to him, but that now she has become more closely attached.

The old woman responds with a challenge: if she is really so attached he should test her by asking the bird in her house to be slaughtered and brought for food (4.11). The merchant is convinced she would do so, but the witch smiles and says that he does not even know the truth about all this—here the reader will rightly guess that the witch knows about the magical bird.

When the queen comes on the next day the merchant acts distant and when the queen apologizes for any offence and proclaims herself his slave, he explains that he does not like the food she brings, and asks her scoldingly[122] not to h[illegible]ird in her house, but to prepare it as the next meal.

Sh[illegible] bird without mercy (4.28), cooks it and hides the meal guarded[illegible]ale servant (4.29). When her two sons, the princes who had playe[illegible]urn to the house and ask the servant for something to eat they end[illegible]ally eating the magical parts of the bird: the older brother eats th[illegible] "the bone" (*asthi*), the younger brother eats the breast (*vakṣas*).

The servant r[illegible]een, she brings the remainder of [illegible]eal to the me[illegible]eats the rest of the bird, but [illegible] the crucial [illegible] description of the happy

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[115] One would better read *vyādhasenājagāma* for *vyādhasenā jagāma*. [116] One may take *āmātya* here as different from the *sacivas* he is said to have left behind (1.35cd) in order to avoid contradiction. [117] Here the story remains confused: if it is his army, then he did not come alone as said before. [118] Called variously *vyādha* (3d), *śabara* (4b) and *pulinda* (5a). [119] Clarified later, see 3.30: *indhana*. [120] *maṇim aṇḍam*.

husband that there is no more need to pursue his exhausting job as a wood collector (3.28). The couple regains wealth and even employs servants.

But the queen meets the merchant regularly to sell the jewels and brings food and alcohol from her house, and they start a sexual relationship. Blinded by passion the queen does not even think of her two royal sons any more, and the chapter ends with the narrator's lament that the bad behaviour of women has no end.

In the fourth chapter we hear that in the house of the merchant there was an old woman, who was a witch.[121] Seeing the coming and going day and night, the old woman is amused and uses all arguments to convince the merchant to tell her what she so eagerly wants to hear. The merchant cannot keep the secret, excusing himself by the remark that the mind of women is unsteady as an ape (4.6cd). He tells her that she is the wife of a disrobed king and that she sells her jewels to him, but that now she has become more closely attached.

The old woman responds with a challenge: if she is really so attached he should test her by asking the bird in her house to be slaughtered and brought for food (4.11). The merchant is convinced she would do so, but the witch smiles and says that he does not even know the truth about all this—here the reader will rightly guess that the witch knows about the magical bird.

When the queen comes on the next day the merchant acts distant and when the queen apologizes for any offence and proclaims herself his slave, he explains that he does not like the food she brings, and asks her scoldingly[122] not to hide a bird in her house, but to prepare it as the next meal.

She kills the bird without mercy (4.28), cooks it and hides the meal guarded by one female servant (4.29). When her two sons, the princes who had played outside, return to the house and ask the servant for something to eat they end up accidentally eating the magical parts of the bird: the older brother eats the head with "the bone" (*asthi*), the younger brother eats the breast (*vakṣas*).

The servant relates the matter to the queen, she brings the remainder of the meal to the merchant and the old women eats the rest of the bird, but without the crucial magical parts. After a longer description of the happy

[121] If that indeed is the intention of the word Śākinī. This magical element in the story is needed to explain why she knew the secret of the bird. [122] Absurdly he calls her *puṃścalī*, one "going to another man."

reunion of the queen and the merchant, the old woman comes to know that the head has been missing and here the text supplies to the reader an important detail,[123] the prediction that whoever eats the head becomes king (6.21). More specifically, as the old woman explains, it is the "bone" (*asthi*) in the head and the breast of the bird (6.27). Since it cannot be digested by anyone after having eaten it, it must be still in the body of the young princes. When she comes to his house, the merchant again feigns anger, and she regrets having killed the bird that had brought her 300 dīnāras a day. The merchant now demands that she kills her sons (6.4), which she accepts. After the lament of the narrator about the blinding desire of women, he emphasizes his point through another description of love-making, at the end of which the queen goes home, firm in her resolve to kill her sons and promises a servant freedom if he commits the deed (6.17).

The sons convince the servant to let them go by promising him thousand dīnāras—the elder son had in the meantime become rich through the bird's bone he had involuntarily swallowed—and provides him with a written document setting him free. The servant and the two sons flee to another country.

Now, in chapter 7, the focus of the story shifts to the princes, who reach a town where the king had just died. There the ministers receive a prediction in their dreams that Ibrāhīma, the son of Sultan Muhammada would present himself and should be entrusted with the kingdom (7.3f.). The two princes wandering around enter the town and sit down in a mosque (*masedā*).[124] They decide to split up, the older would remain in the town, the younger would go further afield, and they agree to meet in the mosque in the evening.

When the older prince reaches the palace and tells his story, the ministers immediately make him king (7.13). Blinded by the affluence of his new position he forgets about meeting his younger brother, who in vain waits in the mosque in the evening. It is only here that we are told the name of the second brother Morāda Bhakṣaḥ.

When the new king, after missing his brother in the mosque, searches for him, he reaches a park, sits down under a tree and sees a beautiful woman

[123] This might already have been stated in the lost part where the queen acquired the magical bird. [124] The later *Rājataraṅgiṇīs* transcribe *masǧid* as *masjedā* (Dāmodara) or *masjyedā* (Śrīvara).

up in a mansion. It turns out that she is Delārāmā, a prostitute, (7.27) and a bawd tells him that one night would cost him three hundred dīnāras. The prince pays for the same day and when the bawd wants to throw him out the next morning, he pays day after day, and the courtesan, wondering about the source of money, decides to deceive him (7.44).

Delārāmā tricks the unsuspecting prince, in a moment when "his whole mind was taken away by alcohol intoxication",[125] into telling her where his money came from. When he is unconscious from drinking, she administers an emetic and retrieves the bird's "bone". When he cannot pay for the next day, he is thrown out by the servants.

Now he wanders in the woods without any belongings left, frustrated about what the prostitute had done to him, without the means of livelihood and wishing to die, when he sees three men arguing with each other, as it turns out, about magical objects: a purse, which gives three hundred dīnāras to the person holding it, and a parrot in a cage, which can magically transport the owner to the place of his wish. The prince tricks the three men and uses the bird to go to Delārāmā: In an instance, after pronouncing his wish, he finds himself near her bed (8.16). Delārāmā is astonished and explains that she was not responsible, but rather blames the bawd and the other servants in her mansion for pushing her around (8.21) and for throwing him out. He should not be mad or despise her, but "play" as before (8.23). Then, when she is asleep, he has both magically transferred to an island in the middle of the ocean (8.31). In the colophon this is identified as *sindhudvīpa*.

When she awakes the next morning to see not her house but just water surrounding her, she is frightened, suspects some magical trick and laments her fate. When the prince tells the parrot to bring them food and drink, she is pacified, and this goes on for a while. One day she makes him drink too much, and forgetting even Delārāmā's previous deceit (9.31) he tells her the whole story behind the bird, and when he under the influence of sex, food and alcohol falls asleep (9.32), she uses the bird to be transported back into her house.

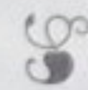
In the morning the prince realizes what happened and is devastated. He does not know what to eat and of course how to leave the island. Wandering

[125] *madhumadāpahṛtasakalacetanaḥ* 8.6b.

the island he sees three naked women and takes their garments and ornaments lying on the beach. They tell him that such childish games are inappropriate, since they are Yoginīs descended from heaven to bathe in the water, but since they are ashamed to stand before him naked, they ask him to return their things. They promise him each a boon from magical trees they had themselves grown on the island: a leaf from a magic tree which produces (again) 300 dīnāras when taken into one's pocket or hand (11.16), one that magically transports him, and one which has a bark, which when ground to a powder transforms the person on whose head it is put into a donkey.

Chapter 12 starts with a comparatively long description of Delārāmā, who sees that the prince has again returned to her and has like a second Hanumān apparently jumped over the ocean. She is considering her options and decides to calm him down (27). She falls at the feet of the angry prince, who puts some bark powder on her head and says "Be a donkey" (12.31). Then he rides on his new donkey and repeatedly hits her with his stick.[126]

In the final chapter the story is concluded: One Yoginī (*yogīśvarī*) with her daughter sees the prince riding a donkey and when the daughter does not see that it is really Delārāmā, she explains it to her and tells her the story of the strange couple. When they approach, the Yoginī admonishes the prince that a noble person should not hold such long enmity with distressed persons, even if they are very bad (13.12). He should rather free Delārāmā. And she offers her own daughter to him in marriage. In the end Delārāmā is transformed back into her human form, and the prince marries the Yoginī's daughter. He also meets his younger brother, and they return to their native country Halābha.



The other Sanskrit version of the story is contained in Hemavijaya's *Kathā-ratnākara*,[127] which has long remained unnoticed, but contains the story in an exemplary version.[128] The text was available in print, but when Johannes

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[126] This punishment is emphasized: 12.33b, 12.34d, 13.5b. [127] Edition: [Hemavijaya: *Kathāratnākara*]. Jāmnagar 1919 (pothi). Translation by JOHANNES HERTEL: *Kathāratnākara. Das Märchenmeer. Eine Sammlung indischer Erzählungen von Hēmavijaya*. München: Georg Müller 1920. [128] "In idealtypischer Prägung findet sich die Erzählung – bislang von der Forschung kaum beachtet – offenbar zuerst im *Kathāratnākara*." MARZOLPH: "Vogelherz", p. 293.

Hertel, well-known for his discovery of the earliest version of the *Pañcatantra*, translated the *Kathāratnākara*, he found the edition to be unsatisfying and produced his own collation based on three manuscripts. He came to the conclusion that manuscript B was an autograph and consequently based his translation on this source.[129] But Hertel did not produce a third volume, nor did he publish a new edition of the Sanskrit text. We are therefore facing the strange situation that we are in possession of a translation directly from the autograph, but that this authoritative text is not available in print. Hertel—and for the following I am indebted to Dragomir Dimitrov, who has prepared the materials for such an edition—seems to have borrowed this autograph from an Indian source and returned it. All attempts to locate this manuscript have so far failed. But when the various parts of Hertel's "Nachlaß" which are spread out over several institutions in Leipzig[130] became more accessible, it was found that it contained Hertel's notebooks with a collation of the text, in which the readings of the autograph are noted. It is quite obvious that a re-edition of this text, which according to Hertel is the most important Indian collection of tales, is a desideratum.

When reviewing the story with the help of this parallel the distinctive features of our text become more prominent. First, the different lengths: The story in the *Kathāratnākara* (KR) is told in five pages (even less in the Sanskrit edition), the *Delārāmākāthāsāra* (DRK) takes up more than fifty. Naturally the KR version lacks the poetical passages, and the plot is much simpler. The DRK contains what Aarne, without knowledge of these two Sanskrit versions, has identified as the main motifs of the full-blown tale. It even turns out that what the unsuspecting reader would sometimes regard as a defect in the plot or the construction of tale, is a known element of the tale. For instance, despite the attention to detail in the DRK the important magical bird is never identified as any particular species. This might seem as an incongruity, since later there is in the brief episode about the magical objects a bird that is indeed identified as a parrot, so why not the more important magical bird from the

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[129] "Der Text, der unserer Übersetzung zugrunde liegt, ist die uns vorliegende eigenhändige Niederschrift des Verfassers selbst, wie im dritten Bande dargelegt werden wird. Die indische Ausgabe ist eine gröbliche Entstellung desselben, wie wir gleichfalls im dritten Bande zeigen werden.« HERTEL: *Kathāratnākara*, p. xx. [130] Personal communication by Anett Krause.

main story? According to Aarne's analysis this is an original feature,[131] and we may at least deduce that the source of the DRK did not name the bird.

Many details in the story could be discussed afresh by comparing these two Sanskrit versions,[132] for instance the discrepancy as regards the part of the bird that has to be eaten to gain the magical effect. Some of the variation stems from insecurities of translation,[133] but both in the KR and the DRK the magical part of the bird has to remain unchanged in the body of the prince, for it has to be recovered through an emetic only later. In the KR it is the cockscomb (*cūḍā*) that is eaten, in the DRK it is explicitly mentioned that the magical part is a "bone" (*asthi*) that cannot be digested.

One interesting question for anyone transforming the fairy tale into a literary piece is: how can the characters know about the magical property of the bird. In the KR with its Jaina background it is a Jaina monk who knows and divulges the secret, whereas in the DRK it is a witch (Śākinī). What is perhaps also noteworthy is that in the KR the son Guṇacandra is not tricked by the courtesan Rūpasenā, but by her bawd. The parallel role played in the DRK by Delārāmā differs in that she is ultimately responsible, not her bawd, and therefore punished by being transformed into a donkey; in the KR it is the bawd who has to suffer the blows by the stick.

The magical objects are acquired in the KR from the pupils of a Yogi. When he travels back magically to the courtesan, he is tricked again by the bawd. In this passage the similarity between the versions is remarkable. But whereas in the KR the whole story is told from a Jaina perspective, although not very obtrusively, the DRK seems fairly neutral. No religious background comes to mind immediately.

Apart from the many differences in details, one gets the impression that, on the level of the plot, the author of the DRK has woven three different strands into one connected and coherent narrative:

[131] "Die bestimmung der art des vogels ist ohne zweifel ein späterer zusatz." AARNE: *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*, p. 174. [132] The *Kathāratnākara* has not yet been extensively used, and the DRK has not at all been noticed. [133] For instance, what Hertel identifies as "Schildknorpel" (*kākalaka*) also means "Kehlkopf" and is therefore not to be distinguished from Aarne's "kropf".

1. A (quasi-)historical setting involving a Sultan Muhammad of Halābha with his wife Merabhaktā and his two sons Ibrāhīm and Murād Bhakṣo is prefixed to the whole story.

2. A complete version of the *Magic Bird-Heart* tale.

3. The story of Delārāmā which is inserted into the *Magic Bird-Heart* frame.

The first fusion is an intelligent device to remedy two "problems" in the plot. Only in the DRK it is in the end the righteous heir who gains the throne, which his father had lost. And the dramatized explanation of the poverty of the king leads naturally into and provides a context to the bird-heart story. The reason why the story of Delārāmā takes such prominence is not clear. But the first and the last element explain why the author attributes the story to Muslim (Persian) sources.

One peculiar feature of the DRK is its misogynist attitude, which has the side-effect that some otherwise arbitrary elements, which other versions had to leave unexplained, are not noticed. What is however noticed as a rather unpleasant aesthetic break in the general tone of the work is the sadistic punishment of Delārāmā when transformed into a donkey. But this is a trait of the original story and appears in many versions.[134]

An interesting feature of the DRK without obvious parallels lies in the appearence of Yoginīs. These are semi-divine, magical and positive[135] figures, even morally superior to the king! In the end it is the Yoginī who admonishes the king to stop his disproportionate and inhuman punishment of Delārāmā.

One crucial difference is of course that the DRK is the most elaborate Indian version of the story discovered so far. The author exercises his freedom to dwell on detailed descriptions to develop characters—especially that of Delārāmā—in the manner of a Kāvya, and it gives more attention to their responsibility or their reaction to moral dilemmas. This, together with a more sophisticated language, makes it the most distinguished Sanskrit version of the story of the *Magical Bird-Heart*. Whether the unknown source used by

[134] AARNE: *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*, p. 183. [135] This needs to be emphasized, because Yoginīs are also imagined as animal-headed dreadful and dangerous magical beings.

Bhaṭṭa Āhlādaka contained this configuration of motifs is hard to say, but the poetical presentation of the story is necessarily that of the author alone. A re-edition and translation of this Kashmirian work is obviously highly desirable.

The Vīraratnaśekharaśikhā

A text even lesser known than the previous one, and the last example for a translation of a Persian text into Sanskrit, is Sāhib Rām's translation of the *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* into Sanskrit. It is worth noting that all three examples of translations of non-technical works from Persian into Sanskrit, the *Kathākautuka*, the *Delārāmākathāsāra*, and Sāhib Rām's *Vīraratnaśekharaśikhā*, are by Kashmirians. Since I am not competent to talk on details as far as the Persian source is concerned, I shall merely say a few words on Sāhib Rām's translation and give an example for how the Sanskrit Pandit tried to adapt the materials.[136]

Sāhib Rām composed his metrical translation probably in 1853/54,[137] and there are a few manuscripts of the text, the most important being a complete one in the IGNCA, New Delhi,[138] written during the lifetime of the author, from which the following examples are taken.

> *atha dvitīyaṃ yad dvāram uddiṣṭaṃ śṛṇutādṛtāḥ*
> *yatpraveśāt savinayair ātmā saṃskriyatetarām*

> Now we explain[139] what is called the second door, listen carefully.
> If humble persons enter it, their mind[140] is utterly purified.

Here a common-place Persian chapter name is literally translated as *dvāra* and filled with contextual meaning.

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[136] An edition and analysis is presently the focus of a project in Marburg as a collaboration between Iranian and Sanskrit Studies. [137] M. A. STEIN: *Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Raghunatha temple library of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir*. Bombay: Nirnaya-Sagar 1894, p. 104. [138] IGNCA Ms. No. 455. [139] Literally: "it is enunciated" (*uddiṣṭam*). [140] According to the auto-commentary, *ātmā = cittam*.

Vīraratnaśekhaśikhā. IGNCA Ms. No. 455.

As far as could be ascertained, the *Vīraratnaśekharaśikhā* is a fairly free adaptation of the stories of the original with no literal correspondences, more a retelling of the contents in verse. Given the literary accomplishments of the author, the question is: why? It would have been quite easy for a Sanskrit Pandit of that calibre to produce from this a *nītiśāstra* and supplant the Islamic background with a corresponding Hindu discourse. But this has not been done, on the contrary the translator tries to explain to his readers the meaning of some of the Islamic ethical concepts exemplified in the text.

The following example is the second verse of the fourth chapter, which is on "thanksgiving" (Persian *šukr*).

> *śuklam ity api yat prāhuḥ sarvasādhāraṇaṃ budhāḥ*
> *niyatyā yan niyamitaṃ svabhāvāt sarvavaktragam*

> What scholars have called *śukla* is common to all people, since it
> is determined by a rule. By its nature it pertains to all mouths.[141]

Here *śukla* is not used in a Sanskrit meaning, but for Persian *šukr* and it is defined thus: *śuklaṃ śuddhaṃ karmetyarthaḥ, śuklatvaṃ viśeṣaṇadvāreṇāha sarvasādhāraṇam iti uttamavarṇahīnajātiparyantaṃ samānam iti* [. . .]

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[141] The interpretation in the auto-commentary is more complicated, but need not concern us here.

"*śuklaṃ* means pure action. This purity (or: nature of śukr) is further explained as being common to all, that means equal for all, from the highest estate (*varṇa*) to the lowest cast (*jāti*)."

Here the following question arises: why was this concept of purity important enough not to be transformed into a "Hindu" concept of purity, but to occasion a note about its definition? At present we can only guess that the author wanted to highlight that this is a specific concept, which has no counterpart in the Hindu thought world, since it applies to all people.

The second chapter treats of *sauśīlyam*, which literally means "good conduct", but is defined here as "desireless action" (*niṣkāmaṃ karma*), which of course reminds one of the *Bhagavadgītā*'s *karmayoga*. This introduction spans twenty-four verses, only then follows the recast of the Persian narrative, which is announced with the words: "On that matter there is an old tale, in which the king Khalapū is described."[142]

The next verse clarifies that this king is called Khalapū,[143] which is not only an unusual name, but also if analysed as normal Sanskrit would mean something like the "barn cleaner". In a literature where names indicate character, such an interpretation is unlikely. According to the auto-commentary this peculiar name denotes someone versed in *nīti*, who is purifying (*pū*) the rogues (*khala*) through proper *nīti*, here obviously in the sense of "jurisdiction".[144]

Khalapū thus is a name for the king as supreme judge, a sense that no doubt one would have been able to express more clearly in Sanskrit. But the word is an attempt to capture the arabo-persian *ḫalīfa*. The Sanskrit has neither a voiced *h*, nor an *f*, which is regularly transcribed in Indian languages as *ph*, which in Kashmirian pronunciation loses its aspiration.

Now follows the story, in which the Kalif conducts a court case, but steps down after becoming biased. The details are outside the scope of this summary, but what should have become clear is that the translator carefully transforms some elements of the story into an Indian context, but preserves others. Not only would a detailed study prove interesting, what I was hoping

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[142] *atrāpy udāharantīmam itihāsaṃ purātanam / Khalapūr madhyadeśīyo rājā yatra hi varṇyate.* (2.25) [143] *madhyadeśe nṛpālo 'bhūt Khalapūnāmadheyakaḥ* (2.26ab) [144] *khalapūr iti nāmadheyenāpy asya nītivartanīcaturatvaṃ bodhyam. tathāhi khalān punāti samyag daṇḍanītyeti khalapūḥ.*

to demonstrate, is that without these unpublished materials, we could not hope to reconstruct the history of translations into Sanskrit.

There are many more interesting aspects of early modern Sanskrit literature, which without further editorial activities may escape us. For instance: It has become an indological topos that we do not know much or anything about Sanskrit authors, that we may have texts but no biographical, historical or political context, and that we consequently often are at a loss to interpret these text adequately. There are different ways out of this dilemma: we may try to supply a modern context for an older text,[145] or infer a context from the text itself, or rather: gain it by interpretation, which in the case of many texts remains highly speculative.

Why not look at the unpublished texts of Sāhib Rām? In his description of some of the historical incidents he witnessed together with Ranbir Singh he gives a context for his composition of a new *Mahārājñīstotra*.[146]

Sāhib Rām relates that his patron Ranbir Singh had given orders to renovate the famous temple of the Kashmirian goddess Mahārājñī and that he, Sāhib Rām, accompanied the king on his visit to the monument. He says that the Brahmins there were singing Stotras in praise of the deity, but for the special occasion—the king visiting the temple with one of his main Pandits—they had a special request:

> *satyaṃ prācīnaracitāḥ stutayo 'syā mude satām*
> *bhavanto 'pi prasādāya stutir asyā vidhīyatām*
>
> It is true that songs of praise devoted to her (i.e. Mahārājñī), composed by ancient (authors) delight the wise, but would you, Sir, write a song of praise to gain her assistance.

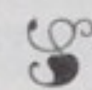
Sāhib Rām says that he complied with their request and here follows in the text fragment a *Śrīmahārājñīstotra* in fifteen Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas. The author then almost apologizes for this adhoc composition written at the "request of others" and compares it to a fire-fly in the face of the light of the sun.

There is surely more to be gained from studying inedita.

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[145] As in the combination of an ethnological and a philological approach. [146] I quote them from the edition by Anett Krause, "Textfragment C".

How to Edit



European Textual Criticism

In the field of textual criticism in European philologies, whether classical (Latin and Greek) or modern, like English or French, there are many quarrels about the method. Often methods from one field have been used in another field, and it was only found out later that the preconditions did not match and the method had to be modified. It is therefore only natural that when we apply classical European methods of criticism to Old, Middle or Modern Indian texts we must ask whether we are committing a similar categorical error. There are surely political answers to the question, but these do not often help us in editing texts, so I intend to answer it in what follows on a more practical level. But first it may be useful to give some background on the prehistory of European textual criticism.

It is quite obvious that many observations about text transmission are specific to a certain environment and that the material culture had an important influence and even determined the way texts were used. For instance, ancient texts on papyri had to be read in a way quite unlike modern books, or indeed normal Indian manuscripts. Reading a papyrus is a little like listening to a music cassette, which is itself now a merely historical item, but some decades ago determined how we listened to music. It was difficult to jump to the next track, one had to wind forward, whereas listening to a specific passage somewhere on the cassette meant to approximately calculate how far one wanted to go, to rewind, to listen and check, rewind again and so on. In other words, a record suggested to the listener that the sequence of songs was intended, the order of tracks on a record was part of the musical experience. Similarly a papyrus roll dissuades one from jumping to a different chapter, reading in sequence is much easier. A change in technology also changes the listening or reading habits. With the introduction of the CD and even more with the spread of online music, the song is suddenly the unit, the sequence of the songs on record is now hardly relevant. Likewise in a printed book access to chapters is much easier. There are similar cultural specifics and changes in text transmissions.

The early text-critical approaches of editors of Greek and Latin works are comparatively well-studied.We know that the second-century author and critic Galen was aware of the fact that the author's exemplar might have

contained errors,[1] that these were corrected only by later generations, that an easy text might have been merely one simplified by later generations, that an emendation has to take into account the genesis of error, in other words text-critical observations that have remained valid. There are other authors in the first centuries of the Christian era, who are already aware of the principles of *lectio difficilior*, the more difficult variant reading that has to be retained against simplifications, and of the *consuetudo* (usage). It is therefore held that in the first centuries A.D. the best scholars in Europe practised a type of textual criticism. In late antiquity the care of texts was in the hands of nobility but especially of monks and monasteries. Some newly founded monastic denominations as the Benedictines made room in their daily schedule for philological work and the copying of texts. Some Christian editors had reservations about non-Christian, pagan works, which were consequently neglected, but some English and especially Irish monks held no such prejudices. They collected and preserved these pre- or non-Christian works, thus some of the early Roman and Greek authors were reintroduced in central Europe from the North. Around 800 at the court of Charlemagne, a large corpus of Latin and Greek works was known.

Then there was a philological caesura with the introduction of a new script. Texts were systematically transcribed from majuscule into minuscule characters, one important and fundamental change with typical errors. Other similarly formative events were changes in technology that affected text production and preservation: In the eighth century the Arabs learned how to make paper from a Chinese prisoner, which in the following centuries made the reproduction of texts much cheaper, then still later the printing press made mass production possible. But at the same time more durable writing materials like parchment were given up.

Even in this very brief summary every Indian manuscriptologist will notice similarities. In India the question of differing regional scripts is an even more tantalizing one than the transcription from majuscule to minuscule. Mistakes of transcription abound and as a result an editor cannot rest content with Devanāgarī manuscripts, but has to seek out earlier regional ones. Very

[1] The following is but a very brief summary of Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers: "Antike und klassisch-philologische Editionsverfahren". In: Hans Gert Roloff (ed.): *Geschichte der Editionsverfahren vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart im Überblick*. Berlin 2003, p. 17ff.

often we see that through Devanāgarī manuscripts contamination spreads more easily, whereas regional ones preserve a more stable version of texts. In Kashmirian literature we see that Devanāgarī versions were often not prepared by Pandits but by non-expert scribes and that they abound in all kinds of mistakes. Here to edit a text without the help of Śāradā manuscripts is not advisable. But also the oblong layout in most Indian manuscripts is noteworthy. Even when in palm-leaf manuscripts the text is organized in columns the reader has to finish the first line in a column and only then jump to the second line.[2]

Coming back to Europe, we see that before the age of modernity a sophisticated art of criticism (*ars critica*)[3] evolved, which treated the transmission of texts not as a science, but as an art practised by experts. The most famous of these scholars is probably Poliziano (1454–1494), who was in many respects ahead of his time. There were two wide-spread methods of editing or rather preparing texts. In case of problematic passages one corrected the text with the help of further manuscripts (*emendatio ope codicum*), or through one's own corrections (*emendatio ope ingenii*). Only later the term *emendatio* came to mean something different: the "correction" of a passage against all manuscripts. The development of the corresponding Sanskrit term is comparable. The word *śodhanam* means purification, correction of a text rather like *emendatio* in the older sense, but is used, especially in modernity in the combination *śodhayitvā prakāśitam* for "editing".

Poliziano already made a full collation of all manuscripts the basis of his editions, a decisive step ahead and a demand for which now the nineteenth century critic Lachmann is credited. Poliziano emphasized the importance of very old manuscripts, excluded apographs from consideration and developed a proto-stemmatology.

But this was only one exceptional scholar at the time. The common practice was quite different. When near the end of the fifteenth century the invention of the printing press in Europe caused a large-scale production of

[2] A new study of the layout of pre-1350 North Indian manuscripts has just been completed by Bidur Bhattarai: *Dividing Texts: Conventions of Visual Text-organization in North Indian and Nepalese Manuscripts up to ca. CE 1350*. Ph. D. dissertation. Hamburg 2015.

[3] This is at the same time the name of some works on the topic, as for instance the one by Johann de Clerq (Joannis de Clerici: *Ars Critica*. Londini MDCXCVIII.) For the genre, see Klara Vanek: *Ars corrigendi in der frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin 2007.

classical texts, these first editions were typeset by using mostly one recent manuscript that was emended according to the subjective taste of the editor and then printed. The manuscripts used often do not survive. We have a similar phenomenon in nineteenth century India, where after the wide-scale[4] introduction of printing technology many editions were first printed from one or two manuscripts that are now no more available. Although this time saw very learned and able editors, for instance in the famous Kāvyamālā series, in general we do not know how much emending went into these first prints.

Through frequent reprints these first versions became the standard text and were uncritically perceived as "the text" of an author. Here I am talking about East and West alike. It seems to me that the cultural difference of a pronounced book culture in Europe as against a manuscript culture with a strong emphasis on oral transmission in India did not make much difference in this respect. No culture can easily avoid the impression that a printed book contains a valid text. In the West these first editions were called the "received text" (*textus receptus*), since through frequent reprints they became widely-known standard versions. Because of their low quality this term came to mean as much as an uncritical and doubtful text, since it is based on unclear sources and there is the suspicion of undocumented emendations. From these editions, also called vulgate, one cannot know what was actually transmitted in the manuscripts. This also applies to Indian vulgate editions.

In the following centuries we have exceptional textual critics like Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), or Richard Bentley (1662–1742), but no different method. Heavy emendations were quite common and this so-called "conjectural critique" remained a standard term in the nineteenth century.

An important test case of textual criticism is of course the criticism of the New Testament. The textus receptus of the NT was not different from many other editions prepared at the time.[5] While there were innumerable manuscripts it was prepared by the famous Erasmus of Rotterdam by using only few, and as it turned out not very good ones. Furthermore, this text shared the fate of other texts: once printed, it became the standard version, but with the distinction that here it was not perceived as the work of an

[4] The prehistory starting from sixteenth-century Goa is described in Anant Kakba Priolkar: *The Printing Press in India*. Bombay 1958.

[5] This summary is of course quite superficial. For a detailed treatment, see Jan Krans: *Beyond what is written*. Leiden: Brill 2006.

author, but the word of God, so that any attempt at suggesting better readings was initially doomed to failure. Any change in the text meant a change in a theology, on which the church had long settled, and so textual critics could easily become what some modern American evangelicals still think of them: heretics. The absurdity of this situation can be made clear through pointing to the fact that while the textual-critics were charged with the allegation of breaking the tradition, they were actually trying to restore the earliest literary traditions on which Christianity was built. But when it comes to textual criticism of revealed scriptures, philology and the politics of religion have an uneasy relationship.

Similar phenomena are met with in other religions, but also in non-theologian compartments of philology. For opposing critical editions and changes to a vulgate version we do not need religious feelings as an explanation. Common human inertia is usually sufficient. When the edition of the oldest recension of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the so-called *Mokṣopāya*, started, it was for some scholars quite difficult to accept the thought that they had for many years worked from a vulgate edition that was in many places next to meaningless. But usually in the field of religion things are more complicated because we have the conflicting ideals of academic freedom of research as against religious freedom. In European academia eventually the old consensus that nothing could be researched that was against the doctrine of the Christian church broke down, the West not only accepted that we live in a heliocentric system, and that the world was not created as it is described in the Bible, in the universities theology could no longer control what other, secular subjects had to work on. As a result the study of religion is now ideally conducted in Germany in two faculties: one insider perspective of Christianity in theology, and a neutral perspective in the philosophical faculties. This is the rationale behind the distinction between a confessional study of religion and a secular "science of religion" (Religionswissenschaft). Here I am talking mainly about Germany, in other countries boundaries differ. In any case, the history of textual criticism is often intricately connected to our view of religious and intellectual freedom.

In order to be able to describe these few historical details I have ignored one all-important development. The early, pre-modern history of editing in

Europe has been almost eclipsed by developments in the nineteenth century. The claim of the famous Karl Lachmann, about whom we shall say more in this chapter, to have found an objective method of editing, has implicitly reduced all older methods to a pre-scientific status. We have to deal with this in more detail, but for this purpose some knowledge of the fundamentals is necessary.

In order to understand the following, a look at the current manuals of textual criticism, as the one by Maas,[6] by West,[7] or Reynolds[8] may be helpful, and for Sanskrit literature the brief overview by Ludo Rocher is highly recommended.[9] These manuals for editing pre-modern texts will start from the basics of the so-called stemmatic method. In it one distinguishes different phases in the editorial process:[10]

> The first stage is recension (*recensio*). The object of recension is to reconstruct from the evidence of the surviving manuscripts the earliest recoverable form of the text that lies behind them. Unless the manuscript tradition depends on a single witness, it is necessary (1) to establish the relationships of the surviving manuscripts to each other, (2) to eliminate from consideration those which are derived exclusively from other existing manuscripts and therefore have no independent value (*eliminatio codicum descriptorum*), and (3) to use the established relationship of those which remain (ideally expressed in the form of a *stemma codicum* or family tree) to reconstruct the lost manuscript or manuscripts from which the surviving witnesses descend. When the most primitive state of the text that is recoverable from the manuscripts has been reconstructed, the second main stage of the critical process begins. The transmitted text must be examined and the critic must decide whether it is authentic or not (*examinatio*); if not, his duty is to emend it (*emendatio*), if this can be done with a reasonable degree of certainty, or to isolate the corruption. The task is often

[6] Paul Maas: *Textkritik*. Leipzig 1960 (¹1927). [7] Martin L. West: *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*. Stuttgart 1973. [8] L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson: *Scribes and Scholars*. Oxford 1991. [9] "Sanskrit Literature". In: D. C. Greetham: *Scholarly Editing. A Guide to Research*. New York 1995, p. 575–599. [10] Reynolds and Wilson: *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 207f.

complicated by the presence of two or more variant readings, each with a claim to be the transmitted text. The whole of this second stage is sometimes still given its traditional, though misleading, name—*emendatio*.

There is firstly the *recensio*, which implies surveying all existing manuscripts of a text and establishing the genetical relationship between all these manuscripts with the help of shared error. The underlying idea is that some errors are of such a quality that they are unlikely to have been committed independently by scribes. Their presence shows that all manuscripts displaying the same errors derive from a common source. Through such "binding" errors manuscripts of a given text fall into groups or branches that can be arranged into a genealogical tree (stemma) which assigns specific values to groups of manuscripts. Let us assume we have five manuscripts of a text, called A, B, C, D, and E. We start from the assumption that all manuscripts contain the same (version of the) text, that they, in other words, are ultimately derived from one and the same archetype, which they all transmit, but each with different scribal errors. If this basic assumption turns out to be unlikely, if the manuscripts rather appear to go back to related, but ultimately separate versions or recensions, then the edition of one original text is a much more speculative matter. The problem in this case is that it is unlikely that such a reconstruction of an original version resembles a historically existing text.[11] In such cases an edition of the various recensions of a text may be the more convincing approach.[12]

If there is a single archetype, we need to establish its text and then find out whether the resulting text is convincing, or whether time and scribes have changed the wording beyond recognition, so that we need to mark certain passages as incomprehensible, or suggest emendations. But first we have to find a method how to identify the readings of the archetype. Here it is useful

[11] Examples would be the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* (Poona 1928ff.), where the claim to reconstruct an "Ur-Text" was not really made, or EDGERTON's reconstructive edition of the *Pañcatantra* (FRANKLIN EDGERTON: *The Panchatantra reconstructed*. New York 1924), where, however, large parts of the text are marked as being insecure. [12] This has been done by EDGERTON in his edition of the widely differing recensions of the *Vikramacarita* (FRANKLIN EDGERTON: *A Hindu Book of Tale: the Vikramacarita*. Baltimore 1912). Here the four distinct versions are edited side by side and no "Urtext" is postulated.

to remind oneself that in many cases there are obvious choices: The original reading may simply be the one that makes sense, is grammatically correct, or can be identified by other common-sensical methods, for which no textual criticism is needed. But as soon as we collate a greater number of manuscripts for a given text, we are likely to find that in a given passage there may be more than one viable reading. A close familiarity with the style of the author and other background knowledge will enable the attentive editor to narrow down the candidates, hopefully to a single convincing original reading, but only the naïve or the over-confident will believe that they can always identify what the author wrote.

There are psychologically understandable, but ultimately irrational methods to deal with multiple readings. For instance one may, after reading some part of the text in the manuscripts, get the impression that, for instance, manuscript A is the "best manuscript". This may in certain cases even hold true statistically, but it becomes a problem when we use this impression to predict correctness, when we start to believe in the "best" manuscript and then blindly follow it. We may compare the selection of readings to a court case. The editor as judge may be used to finding the case of the prosecution quite convincing, but by not even listening to the defendant he is likely to make wrong decisions. Similarly no best manuscript should ever be believed. But it is also obvious that editors use this as a practical shortcut, when other criteria fail.

An equally dangerous method is to follow the best manuscript whenever it makes good sense and to consider other manuscripts' readings only when there is a blatant error. This inevitably leads to a superficial edition, in which many original readings will be missed.

Let me introduce here a complication that is typical for textual criticism. It is important to note that knowing the theory or even many theories is hardly enough, one needs to know why one method is applicable to a certain text. In other words most of the rules cannot be followed blindly, one needs to know the exceptions, and typically an awareness for such exceptions is most easily formed through looking at other philological subjects. For instance, if we conclude from the rejection of the "best manuscript method" in classical

philology that it is always wrong to follow a "Leithandschrift", we are falling into one of the many traps of textual criticism.

Take, for instance, the so-called "copy text" method, known and developed mostly in the American world of editing, according to which one selects and follows one version of the text (the copy text) and deviates from it only in problematic cases. Is this a return to the best manuscript of the medieval *emendatio ope codicum*, ignoring the developments of two centuries? Of course not; this method has to be understood from another angle: it attempts at preserving the integrity of one version, in the worst case this can be one manuscript, often it would be one print of a text, with minimal interference. And since American philology is concerned with works produced in a printing culture, the preconditions for this method are entirely different from those in classical philologies. In a print culture one is concerned with not conflating different versions produced and sanctioned by the author at different times in his life. Applying the classical (eclectic) method to modern authors produces ahistorical texts and this is why the method connected with Lachmann can be a standard reference point in classical editing, but is completely rejected in modern editing.

But even before the invention of the printing press, in editing medieval European texts, an editor may have to choose one manuscript as the basis of an edition ("Leithandschrift"). Since other manuscripts might have been written in another geographical area and in a different dialect, one wants to avoid producing a mixture of differing dialects with their varying orthographies, since such a text would be ahistorical and could have never existed.

Now Sanskrit editing covers ancient, medieval and modern texts, for which reason we as indologists cannot simply ignore the methods of the other subjects. While it is true that many, if not most texts can be edited with classical methods, there are other works where this method will fail. For instance, the transmission of some Buddhist texts written in non-standard Sanskrit resemble European medieval texts more than the "normal" classical Sanskrit text. Here the idea of a "Leithandschrift" may be the only way out.[13]

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[13] Another technique is of course to employ "neo-stemmatology", for which see Yumi Ousaka and Moriichi Yamazaki: "Genealogical Classification of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Manuscripts Based on Many-Variable Analysis". In: *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 17. 2 (2002), p. 193–206.

But it is of not much use to formulate general rules, as the examples of historical editions and the controversies surrounding them show. One might, for instance, in the face of the different versions of the *Mahābhārata*, for which one would not propose a common archetype, refrain from classical editing and just print one version. But this is exactly what Sukthankar has argued against when writing on his predecessor's edition in his *Prolegomena* to the critical edition: "Professor Sastri's edition is an excellent demonstration of the inadequacy of the underlying principle, which has been repeatedly advocated, showing up its defects as nothing else could. What Prof. Sastri set out to do is (to quote his own words): 'to print the text as it is in the original palm-leaf, liberty being taken only to correct scriptorial blunders, to weigh the different readings in the additional manuscripts and choose the more important ones [scil. readings] for being added to the text by way of footnotes.' How difficult it is to carry this out verbatim in practice and at the same time to present a half-way readable text may be realized when we see how Sastri has had to doctor his text."[14]

Despite all these complications in normal scenarios the idea of a "best manuscript" will be treacherous. It may be true that one manuscript has statistically the largest share of good readings, but this cannot be an argument for following it blindly, since it invariably will be wrong in some places. More importantly, a fixation on one manuscript can lure the editor into not taking other evidence seriously, in which case he may easily overlook corruptions.

Another "intuitive" method would be to count manuscripts and follow the majority reading. Suppose we have five manuscripts, labelled A to E. If in a given passage E had one interesting reading worth considering, whereas all other manuscripts agreed on another, perfectly acceptable reading; as every editor knows there is a psychological hesitation to follow the single manuscript E against all others. We tend to assume that it is more likely that one scribe made a mistake than all the others, so the well-attested reading can easily command some kind of preference. Here stemmatology cautions us from a logical flaw: Imagine that the constellation of error shows that in our group of sources A, B, C, and D agree in significant error. The case would, for instance, be clear if they all would have exactly the same gaps (lacunae).

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[14] Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar: *V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition, Vol. I: Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata*. Bombay 1944, p. 107.

Missing text in more than one manuscript can only be explained through common descendence from a source that had the same gaps. Additional text does not carry similar weight, because it is always possible to add text, but there is no motivation to produce identical gaps. Clear scribal errors are similarly significant, whereas normal variant readings do not carry much stemmatic weight.

So if A, B, C, and D have significant binding errors, they form a group derived from a common ancestor, whereas E must derive from another ancestor. On the level of the ancestors there are now merely two branches, which are of equal weight. ABCD can only give us what was contained in their ancestor (plus a share of scribal error). The same is true for E alone. In other words the shared reading of ABCD is of equal weight with the singular reading of E. Counting manuscripts therefore does not make sense at all, the value of a reading is determined by the position of the manuscripts in the stemma. The reconstruction of the history of transmission thus provides us with a tool to find out the reading of the archetype. The reading in the archetype may by the way still be wrong—no manuscript is perfect—, but it is the earliest state of the text we can arrive at. But here, as often in stemmatology, we have left out one important practical detail. In the example given above stemmatic theory cautions us from ignoring the reading of E, but it will give us no clue as to the original reading. We have two, stemmatically equally strong readings, competing for admission. What to do now? What are the criteria? We will come to this later.

Even where we arrive at one single reading, what is still needed is to check, whether this reading is plausibly original, or whether we have reason to suspect a corruption. If this *examinatio* leads to the diagnosis that something must be wrong, the editor may suggest an emendation. The method has of course further elements, for instance apographs of surviving manuscripts are eliminated from consideration, a procedure that may have considerable practical value, since it can reduce the number of manuscripts to be collated in full, but is not without problems.[15]

The reputation of the stemmatic method is often connected with the notion that it allows us to arrive at the earliest version of the text without subjective decisions and that it can be applied almost mechanically. But

[15] See below, p. 165ff.

this is not entirely correct: when the main division of a stemma is into two branches,[16] then the method may give us no more than two readings of equal weight. Here the editor has to decide according to other criteria, an unpleasent practical complication of stemmatic theory, and only hesitantly discussed in some works on stemmatics, since according to some critics editors then silently resort to the best manuscript method,[17] or even twist the stemma in order to allow them more choices.

Here, as usual, Reynolds and Wilson provide a lucid treatment of the dilemma:[18]

> The critic may find himself in a position where he has to choose between two readings that are equally acceptable in respect of the sense and the linguistic usage of his author, but feels that it is unsafe or impossible to argue from the merits of the manuscripts. In such situations there are two maxims that are frequently invoked, *utrum in alterum abiturum erat* and *lectio difficilior potior*.

It is important to note that the resulting text is that of the "archetype", which is the oldest manuscript from which all others ideally derive. This archetype may still be far removed from the autograph, the author's copy. If, for instance, a text survived half a century after the death of the author in only one manuscript, then the method will not be able to retrieve anything but the text from which all other copies have descended. The distance between the autograph and the archetype cannot be bridged by this method.

For this reason, the editor is to examine whether the text gained through stemmatical considerations, the archetype, is likely to be that of the author, or whether, for instance, considerations of style or content, force us to doubt the authenticity of words, or passages. This *examinatio* leads to cases where we can suggest a reading that solves the inconsistency (*emendatio*), other cases can only be diagnosed as helpless and have to be marked as corrupt.

[16] There is a lot of discussion on historical stemmata which are—as is commonly accepted—very frequently bipartite and thus have been an easy target for a critique of the stemmatic method. Already Maas had added some justification for this in an appendix to his booklet and an elaborate discussion is given in Sebastiano Timpanaro: *La Genesi del metodo del Lachmann*. Torino 2003, p. 129–160 ("Stemmi bipartite e pertubazioni della tradizione manuscritta"). [17] Hermann Fränkel: *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe der Argonautika des Appolonius*. Göttingen 1964, p. 131. [18] *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 221.

This is in perhaps undue brevity and simplification the stemmatical method, which goes under the name of Karl Lachmann, not so much historically,[19] but as a convenient designation that generally implies the inclusion of further developments. One usually refers to the succinct and brilliantly dense booklet *Textkritik* by Paul Maas for its valid formulation.[20]

At this point it is common for the more practically minded handbooks to add a cautionary remark: "The apparent simplicity and finality of the stemmatic method as outlined above is deceptive."[21] For, the stemmatic method works only under certain conditions. (1) It presupposes that there was a single archetype. (2) Scribes are supposed to have produced only errors, but not to have corrected anything. (3) And a scribe should not have used more than one manuscript and selected readings from one or the other ("contamination"). If a section of the transmission is contaminated, then the selection of variants "is greatly hindered, if not made impossible"[22] and each variant becomes what Maas calls a "presumptive variant", a potentially viable reading. In other words, in the case of contamination, regardless of the position of a manuscript in the stemma, or its overall quality, whether an editor says in the preface "generally correct" or "unreliable", all variants are again equal.

In order to show that this is far from being mere theory, but for an editor an everyday experience, I shall present one current example. In our project of editing the Sanskrit lexikon of Maṅkha, the *Maṅkhakośa* with its Ṭīkā, recently

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[19] "Many scholars contributed to the elaboration of the stemmatic theory of recension; this had been formulated in all its essentials by the middle of the nineteenth century and, although his own contribution is much slighter than had been supposed, it is still associated with the name of Karl Lachmann." Reynolds and Wilson: *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 209f. [20] Paul Maas: *Textkritik*. Leipzig ^{4}1960, ^{1}1927. The truth is, by the way, more complicated, which may be guessed from the fact that in Maas' work the name of Lachmann does not even occur. More practical is the introduction by Martin West (*Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*. Stuttgart 1973). Another very readable overview is given in L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson: *Scribes and Scholars*. Oxford 1991, p. 207ff ("Textual Criticism"), and there are many more. [21] Reynolds and Wilson: *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 214. [22] I quote the English translation of Maas' work by Barbara Flower (Oxford 1958), here p. 7. Reeve has rejected this translation ("I decline to quote [. . .]" Michael D. Reeve: "Eliminatio Codicum Descriptorum: A Methodological Problem". In: *Editing Greek and Latin Texts*. New York 1989, p. 2, fn. 3) because it has rendered the German word "Hilfe", repeated in one passage, with "aid" in the first instance and "help" in the second. I have some sympathy for the attempt to smoothen the extremely terse style of Maas.

Lata Deokar and myself agreed on a preliminary edition of one passage in the *Maṅkhakośaṭīkā*. We had two manuscripts from the Stein collection in Oxford, one being the transcript of the other, so in fact we had merely one source.

In verse 38 the *Maṅkhakośa* defines the word *vālikā* in the sense of, among others, "child" (*śiśau*). The commentary gives the following example for this meaning from literature:

> *vālikāracitavastraputrikākrīḍanena sadṛśaṃ tad arcanam ityādau śiśau* /
>
> "This [type of] worship is like playing with a [nicely] clothed doll made for a child"—here [*vālikā*] has the sense of "child".

The passage has not been edited by Zachariae in the only edition of this text—the details of this will be discussed later—[23] and the quotation was therefore never identified. It is quoted in the *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*[24] as from the *Arcanātriṃśikā*, which can be identified as the *Paramārcanatriṃśikā* of Nāga, who is dated to the eleventh century by Sanderson.[25]

There does not seem to be any textual problem here and we could lay the matter at rest, but there is the following marginal note: *krīḍanena krīḍitena napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*. What is quite odd here, is that the pratīka *krīḍanena* is explained by *krīḍitena*, and that the grammatical explanation does not pertain to the word to be explained, but to the synonym. If we look at the wording in the printed text of the *Mahārthamañjarī*, we find that *krīḍitena* is the reading there. Only this constellation explains the note. A scribe who was also a scholar made a note on *krīḍitena*, but the explanation was entered into the text and the note, which now seemed confusing became further garbled. This is a case, where stemmatics cannot help us, it is only the totality of readings, testimonia and notes, that suggests that *krīḍitena* would have to be the preferred reading.

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[23] See below, p. 160. [24] Ed. T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 66). Trivandrum 1919, p. 111. The reading is, however, *bālikā*-. [25] See Alexis Sanderson: "The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir". In: *Tantric Studies in Memory of Hélène Brunner*. Pondichéry 2007, p. 292 and 411. To this the date of Maṅkha now furnishes a solid upper limit.

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The passage has not been edited by Zachariae in the only edition of this text—the details of this will be discussed later—[23] and the quotation was therefore never identified. It is quoted in the *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*[24] as from the *Arcanātriṃśikā*, which can be identified as the *Paramārcanatriṃśikā* of Nāga, who is dated to the eleventh century by Sanderson.[25]

There does not seem to be any textual problem here and we could lay the matter at rest, but there is the following marginal note: *krīḍanena krīḍitena napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*. What is quite odd here, is that the pratīka *krīḍanena* is explained by *krīḍitena*, and that the grammatical explanation does not pertain to the word to be explained, but to the synonym. If we look at the wording in the printed text of the *Mahārthamañjarī*, we find that *krīḍitena* is the reading there. Only this constellation explains the note. A scribe who was also a scholar made a note on *krīḍitena*, but the explanation was entered into the text and the note, which now seemed confusing became further garbled. This is a case, where stemmatics cannot help us, it is only the totality of readings, testimonia and notes, that suggests that *krīḍitena* would have to be the preferred reading.

[23] See below, p. 160. [24] Ed. T. GAṆAPATI SĀSTRĪ (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 66). Trivandrum 1919, p. 111. The reading is, however, *bālikā-*. [25] See ALEXIS SANDERSON: "The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir". In: *Tantric Studies in Memory of Hélène Brunner*. Pondichéry 2007, p. 292 and 411. To this the date of Maṅkha now furnishes a solid upper limit.

The day after we had decided on such a conjecture I could check the manuscript of the *Maṅkhakośaṭīkā* in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, which Zachariae described as being often "very corrupt" and that "with this MS. alone an edition of the commentary would have been impossible" (p. 2). But this manuscript reads —as if to demonstrate the text-critical observation that a "bad" manuscript may have the right reading alone—*krīḍitena*.[26]

So we must remind ourselves of the important rule that if contamination is present, and in most transmissions of Sanskrit texts it is, every variant, even in a bad, or stemmatically irrelevant manuscript, becomes a viable choice.

Unfortunately some earlier manuals of textual criticism, some of which are less schematic and therefore of more practical value than the one by Maas, have been mostly forgotten. It also has to do with the language barrier, or rather the increasing limitation of the anglophone world to publications in English, that Maas, who has been translated into English, is read, whereas others are not. The introduction by Kantorowitz,[27] for instance, is still worth reading. It teaches stemmatics briefly, but then devotes much space to "inner" criteria. He talks about the literary-historical criterion, the criterion of language history, the "history of objects (Sachgeschichte), the criterion of the history of transmission, etc. He formulates stemmatical rules, which do not mathematically lead—as in Maas' description—to the archetype, but merely allow us to formulate a hypothesis to be tested with the other criteria. A whole chapter is devoted to psychological criteria. There are also many helpful cautionary remarks, for instance, that the application of stemmatology is likely to produce wrong results in a transmission with manuscripts that contain glosses.[28] In India such codices with marginalia are frequent.[29]

Another earlier manual is extremely practically minded. It describes everything around editing, from meeting other colleagues to preparing the

[26] To be fair, Zachariae says that, "not a few leaves are pretty correct". *Ibid.* [27] Hermann Kantorowitz: *Einführung in die Textkritik*. Leipzig 1921. [28] Op. cit., p. 49. [29] For a study devoted to marginalia in Sanskrit manuscripts see Camillo Formigatti: *Sanskrit Annotated Manuscripts from Northern India and Nepal*. Ph.D. dissertation. Hamburg 2013.

apparatus for the typesetter. When it comes to stemmatics it remains very brief and highly pragmatic.[30]

One of the main problems in practical textual criticism is that, since contamination is the rule rather than the exception in many fields—the arguments for Indian manuscripts will follow shortly—one never knows where to and where not to apply stemmatics, for there is no rule, no percentage, or degree of contamination one could give, below which it will work, and above which it will not. Diplomatically one talks about the "serious limitations" of stemmatic theory in practice,[31] and there seem to be two ways out of this dilemma. One is to adopt an entirely different method: One might resort to printing a historically important version of the text, or after all the best manuscript, without much intervention. This method, applicable more to medieval texts without archetype and widely varying orthography, which cannot be reduced to a critical edition, is connected to the name Bédier.[32] The other method would be to loosen the preconditions as stated by Maas

[30] "Noch bevor alle Handschriften kollationiert sind, sobald genügend Material für ihre Kenntnis gesammelt ist, muß man sich bemühen, ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis zu bestimmen. Ein Stemma aufzustellen ist oft nicht möglich, umso weniger je größer die Zahl der Handschriften ist. Je öfter ein Text abgeschrieben wurde, desto mehr beeinflußten sich die Abschriften untereinander, die Beziehungen kreuzten sich und immer neue Mischtexte entstanden. Daher ist oft unter einer großen Masse keine einzige direkte Abschrift einer noch vorhandenen Vorlage nachzuweisen. So hat z. B. P. de Lagarde die Ansicht ausgesprochen (die sich freilich kaum in vollem Maß bestätigen wird), daß von den unzähligen Handschriften der Septuaginta keine einzige ganz wertlos, aber auch keine von schweren Korruptelen ganz frei sei. In solchen Fällen kann man kein Stemma aufstellen; dagegen ist es möglich, gewisse Gruppen zusammenzunehmen, die durch gleiche Verderbnisse (besonders wichtig sind Zusätze und Lücken) ihre gemeinsame Abstammung verraten [. . .] Ist der Wert der einzelnen Handschriften auf Grund ihres Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses festgestellt, so werden die Handschriften (am besten nach der Reihenfolge ihres Wertes) verglichen; die Haupthandschrift aber sollte womöglich noch einmal eingesehen werden, nachdem die Varianten der übrigen gebucht sind." Otto Stählin: *Editionstechnik. Ratschläge für die Anlage textkritischer Ausgaben*. Leipzig 1914, p. 36f. [31] Reynolds and Wilson: *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 211. [32] I am deliberately phrasing this carefully, because—as Schmidt has shown—the truth is more complicated. P. L. Schmidt: "Lachmann's Method: On the History of a Misunderstanding". In: *The Uses of Greek and Latin*. London 1988, p. 227–236.

for stemmatology:[33] If we do not find enough instances of significant shared error, we might start using variant readings themselves, or declare a politically more correct substitute term for error,[34] and thereby put the manuscripts into groups. We may avoid claiming that the stemma is historically correct, that it only displays a "serviceable relationship".[35] One typical example from Classical Studies is the transmission of the manuscripts of Juvenal, where "the relationship of the manuscripts in the vulgate class are too thoroughly blurred by contamination to be depicted stemmatically, and even groupings based on geographical origin and shared lacunae are too unstable to be of much use."[36] But while one scholar in this case "dispenses with all grouping",[37] another has pursued a "taxonomic study". The problem with all these modified methods for forming groups of manuscripts is the following: while the logic behind the stemmatical approach of Maas, which takes into account only infallible arguments for constructing a stemma, is impeccable, in the case of many neo-stemmatic methods "it is not clear what useful conclusions can be drawn from it."[38]

Whether and which of these types of groups, stemmas, or clusters can be used in the same way as one would use stemmatics à la Maas is still a valid question. But the use of computer-based methods of stemmatics with its widely differing algorithms for forming groups and relations, has evoked high expectations, and adherents are understandably enthusiastic.[39] Some have even created the impression to have solved even the problem of contamination.

But still there is the unsettled question, whether all variants should be fed into the cladistics software, or just a selection of significant ones. Salemans

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[33] In classical studies this seem to be the consensus: "In den letzten Jahrzehnten sind die Überlieferungsverhältnisse vieler Texte durch arbeitsintensive Untersuchungen geklärt worden, wodurch immer deutlicher wird, daß Kontamination verschiedener Stränge fast überall die Regel ist. Trotz dieser Schwierigkeiten kann bei vielen Texten ein glaubwürdiges Stemma konstruiert werden". Joseph Delz: "Textkritik und Editionstechnik". In: Fritz Graf (ed.): *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie*. Stuttgart 1997, p. 58. [34] Salemans (see below) removes the pejorative term "common error" from the Lachmann method in favour of "common non-original change" (p. 19). [35] West: *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, p. 39. [36] L. D. Reynolds (ed.): *Texts and Transmission*. Oxford: Clarendon 1983, p. 201. [37] Ibid. [38] West: *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, p. 47. [39] See, for instance, on the successful attempt to establish a known stemma from published data: Peter Robinson and Robert J. O'Hara: "Report on the Textual Criticism Challenge 1991". In: *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 3(4) (1992): p. 331–337.

has produced fairly sophisticated guidelines as to which variants should be used and the type of erroneous stemmas that are produced, if these rules are not adhered to.[40] He says: "Many text genealogists assume incorrectly that all the textual differences between text versions, sometimes with the exception of small differences in spelling, can be used to draw text genealogical trees. From the four types of parallelism presented we can see that many non-spelling variants can offer false information about the kinship of text versions. It could be argued that parallelisms do not frequently occur in text versions and, therefore, could be filtered out by statistical or mathematical analysis, like cluster analysis. For text genealogy this is a dubious approach. A single, trustworthy variant can provide better information about the shape of a text-genealogical tree than a thousand other untrustworthy variants."[41]

On the other hand Philipp Maas has been successful in testing the cladistic approach for a Tibetan text by using all variants as the basis for a stemma.[42] He warns against what we might call too scientistic expectations, and proposes to judge connective variants according to philological principles and thereby avoid problems, since "phylogenetic software—like the human mind—can easily get confused by contamination and parallelism."[43] In another article he suggests combining the cladistic analysis, the "quantitative approach" with a "philological discussion of selected variants (i.e. a qualitative approach)" in order to produce a stemma for a contaminated transmission.[44]

But we must ask again. Suppose the refined techniques of computer-aided neo-stemmatology are able to provide us with a stemma of a highly contaminated transmission of a text. Would we select readings according to stemmatic rules? Or would we declare contamination and thus bend these rules whenever the supposed original reading occurs on the wrong side of the stemma? If so, the stemma would be useful for understanding the course

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[40] Benedictus Johannes Paulus Salemans: *Building Stemmas with the Computer in a Cladistic, Neo-Lachmannian, Way. The Case of Fourteen Text Versions of Lanseloet van Denemerken.* Nijmegen 2000, p. 300–302. [41] Salemans, op. cit., p. 71. [42] Philipp Maas: "A Phylogenetic Approach to the Transmission of the Tibetan Tanjur—the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* Revisited". In: Dragomir Dimitrov, Michael Hahn, Roland Steiner: *Bauddhasāhityastabakāvalī.* Marburg 2008, p. 229–243. [43] Philipp A. Maas, op. cit., p. 238. [44] Philipp A. Maas: "Computer Aided Stemmatics. The Case of Fifty-Two Text Versions of Carakasaṃhitā Vimānasthāna 8.67–157". In: Jürgen Hanneder and Philipp A. Maas: *Text Genealogy, Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 52–53 (2009–2010), p. 63–119.

of transmission, but could not be used according the method of (Paul) Maas. The problem for editors lies as much in the production of a stemma as in its application. In the example quoted above (Philipp) Maas after confirming with cladistic analysis that the transmission of the text falls into branches (the Tshal pa and the older Them spaṅs ma version), presents an edition according to the following guidelines: "The text, therefore, is mostly in accordance with the Them spaṅgs ma version. Whenever this version shows traces of being modernised or clearly reads a defective text, I keep to the Tshal pa tradition."[45]

Another refined and circumspect application of the method is contained in Graheli's work on the *Nyāyamañjarī*.[46] The author uses the cladistics software for the initial stages of the recensio, and then[47] proceeds in a more traditional way. The tripartite stemma allows "in most cases [. . .] for a mechanical choice of the most likely reading".[48] But while this may be true for many cases, the overriding principle is sense, which can be seen in cases, where the editor argues against what his own stemma would dictate him, if it were truly mechanical.[49] Here it turns out that contamination is in fact a good argument to allow for such anomalies. One rather pragmatic issue concerning this method is that it is probably—if we look at the extremely well-documented text-critical study—fairly time consuming.

We should mention briefly here that the fields of (German) medieval and modern philologies have long turned against Lachmann—a scholar famous not only as an editor of Latin and Greek, but also of German texts, and a founding father of the academic subject of "Germanistik"—and discarded his methods for very obvious reasons: In medieval literature we can identify versions, but often not an archetype. And for editing texts in widely diverging regional orthographies stemmatics is simply an inadequate tool.[50] Especially the discovery of historical dialects with their specific orthography destroyed the basis of a philological reconstruction of a text in "correct" spelling. Such a

[45] Philipp Maas: "A Phylogenetic Approach to the Transmission of the Tibetan Tanjur", p. 238. [46] Alessandro Graheli: *History and Transmission of the Nyāyamañjarī*. Wien 2015. [47] "Hence, in the present study the role of cladistics ends here." Op. cit., p. 88. [48] Op. cit., p. 114. [49] See the case of the reading *karaṇatvena* on p. 173. [50] Adherents of computerized neo-stemmatology will not necessarily agree to this.

text was now seen as an ahistoric mixture. In the beginning of the twentieth century new methods marked a complete turning away from "Lachmann".[51]

In modern philologies, where we have authorized prints rather than manuscripts, the problems faced by an editor are entirely different. If an author has, for instance, worked again on his text and has published more than one version of it, then stemmatics must fail. Lachmann had in these cases conflated authorized prints and has been criticized for this. In these cases, we can only print one version or the other, or produce a genetic edition that shows how the development of different versions of a text by the same author can be analysed in an edition.[52] Then we must not forget that editors of philosophical literature have claimed that their method differs[53] from those applied for literature.

In Sanskrit textual criticism almost all these problems occur too. There are transmissions like those of classical texts, where we may successfully apply stemmatics. Then there are texts, where we have a multitude of recensions, but no archetype.[54] Apart from this we have the tradition of recitation, the orality of Indian texts, and for some areas a living theological, philosophical and literary tradition, which means that texts copied were in use by experts, and thus were surely not just copied, but corrected and edited. A given manuscript, especially when accompanied by a commentary, can therefore be quite unlike the source envisaged by Maas: it could well be a pre-modern edition.[55] For this

[51] See Hans-Gert Roloff: "Karl Lachmann, seine Methode und die Folgen". In: Hans Gert Roloff (ed.): *Geschichte der Editionsverfahren vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart im Überblick*. Berlin 2003, p. 76f. [52] Hans Zeller: "Die Entwicklung der textgenetischen Edition im 20. Jahrhundert". In: Hans Gert Roloff (ed.): *Geschichte der Editionsverfahren vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart im Überblick*. Berlin 2003, p. 143–207. [53] Walter Jaeschke: "Editorische Verfahren und Leistungen philosophischer Ausgaben." In: Hans Gert Roloff (ed.): *Geschichte der Editionsverfahren vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart im Überblick*. Berlin 2003, p. 287. [54] For some such cases von Hinüber has diagnosed a complete failure of normal textual criticism. Oskar von Hinüber: "Der vernachlässigte Wortlaut. Die Problematik der Herausgabe buddhistischer Sanskrit-Texte." In: Kurt Gärtner (ed.): *Zur Überlieferung, Kritik und Edition alter und neuerer Texte*. Mainz 2000, p. 17–36. [55] For some scholars this is so obvious that they mention it only in passing: "The genealogical lines of Śāradā manuscripts are usually blurred by the tendency of the Kashmiri pandits, who themselves copied the manuscripts, to make something like a critical edition ante litteram." Rafaelle Torella: "Pratyabhijñā and Philology". In: JAOS 133.4 (2013), p. 707. Kantorowitz speaks of "old emendation" and reminds the reader of the fact that there have been philologists before Lachmann (op. cit., p. 8).

reason editors of Sanskrit text have regularly rejected stemmatics in favour of other approaches.

The Insistence on Stemmatics

But the whole question has been reopened by Michael Witzel in a recent article, in which he reviews "Textual criticism in Indology and in European philology during the 19th and 20th centuries"[56] and diagnoses a lack of critical editions: "Surprisingly, Indian (or South Asian texts in general) texts have hardly seen *any* critical editions in the strict Lachmannian sense. What goes under this name usually are editions that merely include a selection of variants. It is remarkable that over the past 200 years or so only about a dozen truly critical editions, with stemma, of Sanskrit texts have been prepared."[57]

Witzel not only describes recent practices, but demands an indological best practice by classifying editions in the following way: "Class A: crit. ed. with reasoned pedigree (stemma) of MSS. Class B: edition that makes use of SOME MSS that are NOT described well and only occasionally / inconsistently mentioned in the footnotes, the so-called critical apparatus. Class C: edition, made as the editor sees fit, with no MSS used / mentioned; maybe with one or two MSS (never explained) used and very sporadically quoted, or not at all. Most Skt. editions are of type C and B, only a dozen or so are of type A, so far." This is the elaborate version, found in an internet forum, which makes his point quite clear. Since it is difficult to get an overview on all Sanskrit editions, one might add a few editions with stemmas, so there are actually more than a dozen, but the number of editions featuring a stemma is indeed smaller than one might expect. For Witzel this means that editors have fallen short of complying with obvious standards, or in his words that "the 19th century indological "tradition" of presenting "semi-critical" editions without proper stemma continues unabated: even in Olivelle's Manu only the N. and S. Indian branches are distinguished [. . .]"[58]

Before continuing I would like to mention two editions with stemmas that are not mentioned by Witzel. The first is Rau's edition of the *Vākyapadīya*,[59] which has a stemma, a lucid introduction, but does not report many readings.

[56] In: *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* 21.3 (2014), p. 9–90. [57] Op. cit., p. 47. [58] Op. cit., p. 48. [59] See below.

The other edition is an attempt to inculturate stemmatics into Sanskrit terminology by V. L. Joshi.[60] In a long introduction, where he even translates some passages from the often quoted article by Housman into Sanskrit,[61] Joshi has not only tried to explain the details of editing in Sanskrit, he has also coined Sanskrit terms for the Latin technical terms of editing, as for instance, recension (*upaśākhā*) etc. It is unfortunate that this attempt has not caught on, and sparked neither a discussion nor even any serious reaction.[62]

The main thrust of Witzel's proposal is to follow "the stemmatics of the Lachmann school of 1810",[63] which implies "strictly adhering to the principle of establishing a family tree of manuscripts (stemma). The method has been summed up, after more than a hundred years of trial and error, by P. Maas and M. L. West and for India by S. M. Katre."[64] Witzel also holds that the *recensio* will produce a text that in a second step has to be emended: "Different than Bentley's ideas about criticism, textual criticism does not immediately extract a meaning from a text. Such questions are better postponed until its proper wording has been established. Even then, both the establishment of a text and its preliminary editorial interpretation naturally go hand in hand. After these initial steps of editing a text, higher textual criticism (emendatio) comes in. Based on our knowledge of the grammar, style, parallel passages or typical expressions of the author concerned—repeating here the Alexandrian model—we can scrutinize the archetype MS and propose to make certain corrections to that text."[65]

Naturally one is interested to see what solution Witzel proposes for the problem of contamination, which he admits is "always present",[66] but he is

> not as pessimistic when it comes to the heavily contaminated medieval traditions as is, for example, maintained in the recent discussion about the planned Kāśikā edition by J. Bronkhorst, Pascale Haag, et al.

[60] *Prauḍha Manoramā with Commentary Śabdaratna*. Critically edited by Venkatesh Laxman Joshi. Vol. 1. (Deccan College Monograph Series 31). Poona 1966, p. 1–110. [61] Op. cit., p. 6. [62] The only reference I am aware of is by Ludo Rocher "Sanskrit Literature". In: D. C. Greetham: *Scholarly Editing. A Guide to Research*. New York 1995, p. 575–599. [63] Witzel: *Textual criticism in Indology*, p. 18. [64] Ibid. [65] Op. cit., p. 21. Also on p. 72: "having a stemma (or we may add, an early version of a Bardic text) is only the starting point for the processes of emendatio and producing a critical edition." [66] Op. cit., p. 26.

It is well known that contamination is the rule in the (edition) of the Sanskrit epics, which makes a true critical edition impossible (apart from the problems of oral bardic transmission), as stressed by the Mbh. editor Sukthankar.

However, the exact nature of contamination can usually be determined fairly easily. It has not been taken into account that the influence of the many Indian scripts and the diversity of local pronunciation allows to trace various strands of transmission and to detect 'aberrations' from the individual local 'norm.'[67]

Witzel, while being himself quite positive about stemmatics in the face of contamination, I think, underrates the indological consensus against it. He mentions a few examples of editors who consciously avoided constructing a stemma on what they considered weak evidence,[68] but remains ignorant of such prominent examples as Coulson in his edition of the *Mālatīmādhava*, who says under "ms. relationships":[69]

> A family tree illustrating the inter-relationships and descent from an archetypal copy or copies of all our mss, although it must be inscribed somewhere among the tablets of heaven, I suspect to be beyond our own reach. It is indeed not difficult to shape one part or another of the evidence into such a pattern, but only by ignoring other sets of correspondences too numerous to be due to coincidence.

As causes for this Coulson gives examples of manuscripts that were copied from one recension, but where someone had added readings from another recension. There is, by the way, ample evidence for this in the transmission of many texts, which shows that such avenues of conflation were common.[70]

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[67] Op. cit., p. 27. [68] "By now, some voices have been raised with regard to contamination and the "impossibility" to establish a stemma for Indian texts, for example: J. Hanneder, ed. of Abhinavagupta's Mālinīślokavārttika 1/1-399, Groningen 1998, p. 40-45; R. Adriaensen et al., 190 ed. of the Skandapurāṇa, vol. I, p. 39." Op. cit., p. 41. [69] Michael Coulson: *A Critical Edition of the Mālatīmādhava*. Delhi: Oxford University Press 1989, p. xviii. [70] See for instance Jürgen Hanneder: "The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and its Kashmirian recension, the *Mokṣopāya*. Notes on their Textual Quality". In: *WZKS* 44 (2000), p. 183–210.

Often only parts of a text were revised with the help of further manuscripts, and as a result, one may find in one's critical apparatus that in one chapter there seems to be a fairly consistent grouping of manuscripts (let us say AB against CD), but that this changes completely in the next section (AC against BD) and again further on. Similar observations are in fact quite commonly voiced in text-critical introductions, and then usually the editor refrains from providing a stemma on inconclusive evidence. In recent publications I was under the impression that not only a sort of consensus had formed about this, but also that in such cases the method described by Srinivasan (see below) was very worth considering. This might have been premature, since Witzel does not even mention this book in his treatment of textual criticism and contamination.

It is therefore time to reconsider some of the facts and arguments in more detail. The first task would be to investigate the nature of contamination in pre-modern Indian transmissions of Sanskrit texts, which has some bearing on whether stemmatology can be usefully applied. The other point concerns the history of indological editing and its relation to the method of Lachmann.

Author Variants and the Hand of the Copy Editor

It has become clear from the preceding description of classical, that is, stemmatic editing that it works under certain preconditions only. One precondition we have not yet dealt with sufficiently concerns the so-called author variant. It means that when an author has transmitted to posteriority more than one version of a passage or even a work, we have not one but more archetypes, or at least variants that are quite unlike the ones envisaged in Maas' handbook, since they are not scribal errors, but valid authorized readings. In a manuscript culture such second versions could manifest themselves in marginal annotations in the autograph or in more than one copy being prepared under the supervision of the author etc. An editor who uses stemmatics may not want to accept that these things exist, many classical scholars expect a good writer to work like Horace told his pupil in his *Ars Poetica*, to publish only when the work has come to perfection, show it to no one before and never change one's mind afterwards. Common sense, the fact that this admonition had to be given in the first place, and examples from modern

philologies show that this may be an honoured rule, but not necessarily a wide-spread practice. Some authors may have worked without leaving any trace of the production of texts, but it would be quite naïve to assume that all or even most of them did.

There are only a few proven[71] cases of medieval Sanskrit autographs. One incontrovertible case is Ratnakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Haravijaya*, written in 1603 according to the colophon by the author himself. This statement could have been copied by a scribe, but the peculiar cursive hand of the manuscript allows us to identify its writer as the author himself.[72]

Another instance that is not well-known concerns the text of the *Kathāratnākara* (early seventeenth century). Here Hertel has claimed in his translation of the work that the author's copy has survived.[73] But since the manuscript is now lost, we cannot verify the case.[74] What is even more interesting is Hertel's statement that in this autograph, the corrections in faded ink are by the first hand, that is by the author himself.[75] Here we have one case that is like those in modern philologies, where it is not untypical to have more than one authorized version.

It is surely the case that we cannot prove that author variants are among the variants we find in the transmission of a text, but the phenomenon has been described sufficiently for European classical philology, in a work that is well worth perusing,[76] but has never been translated or reprinted. Its bearing on stemmatics is briefly summarized in English by Reynolds and Wilson: "One final complicating factor is the possibility that the ancient author himself made corrections or alterations to his original text after publication. Sometimes

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[71] Claims for autographs are sometimes based on the observation that a manuscript is extremely correct. While such cases may carry a certain probability, I cannot see why this should alone be considered as a proof. [72] For the author, see Jürgen Hanneder, Stanislav Jager and Alexis Sanderson: *Ratnakaṇṭhas Stotras Sūryastutirahasya, Sūryaśataka und Śambhukṛpāmanoharastava*. München: Kirchheim Verlag 2012 (Indologica Marpurgensia 5) and for an edition of the autograph Pasedach, Peter: *The Haravijaya of Ratnākara and the Commentaries thereon by Utpala and Ratnakaṇṭha: Sargas 1 and 2*. Magisterarbeit. Hamburg 2011. [73] Johannes Hertel: *Kathāratnākara. Eine Sammlung indischer Erzählungen*. Vol. 1. München: Müller 1920, p. xx. [74] In his handwritten notes Hertel provides some of the arguments: "Das (sic) B die Handschrift des Autors selbst ist, ergibt sich z. B. aus S. 84." (Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, NA Hertel 12b, p. 485). [75] "Der Korr. mit blasser Tinte ist der Schreiber selbst, der also spätere Nachträge eingetragen hat." (*Universitätsarchiv Leipzig*, NA Hertel 12b, p. 486). [76] Hilarius Emonds: *Zweite Auflage im Altertum*. Leipzig 1941.

these would be extensive enough to justify us in speaking of a second edition. Under the conditions of the ancient publishing trade a second edition was much less likely to supplant its predecessor than in the modern world. Cicero's attempts to revise or eliminate errors in his works did not affect all the copies from which our archetypes descended. The two versions circulated side by side throughout antiquity with horizontal transmission taking place."[77]

In European editing already the Humanists surmised that variants might have been not merely caused by scribal and other errors, but also by the interference of the author himself. The wealth of examples provided by Emonds shows that this is very likely, but also very difficult to prove, when it comes to practical editing. The question whether a given variant, which fits everything we know about the author, is an author variant, or rather an intelligent conjecture, cannot often be solved convincingly.

But for the sake of our investigation it is not important to prove specific cases, but to assess the general probability: Is this scenario just theoretically possible, is it rare, or is it always to be expected in Indian textual criticism. If our answer tends to the latter, there is the practical problem with this observation that its application remains difficult. If we suspect an author variant any time we encounter a second convincing variant, we cannot edit a text any more. However, the answer has some bearing on one of our leading questions, that is, the applicability of stemmatics.

There are examples that show that proof of author variants remains difficult and tends to complicate the editing process. Even in well-researched cases, like the famous Middle-English poem *Piers Plowman*, which is transmitted in around fifty manuscripts and at least three distinguishable versions, on which much effort has been spent, we are left with the expected conflicting opinions: some imagine a single versatile poet, others a multitude of authors, and it depends on the temperament of individual scholars to commit to a side.

Then there is a further unsolved problem: How did authors publish their works? Were they copied only privately by those interested. Did authors give their works to a publishing, that is, to a copying house, was there a copy editor? Were copies produced only after completion of the work? Was there a second edition? Sanskritists might reject all these deliberations as inapplicable: for

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[77] Reynolds and Wilson: *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 215.

many works we do not know the author, how could we know the scribe, or the "publisher", if there was one. So what is the point of asking all these questions, when it is unlikely that we will be able to answer them. My argument here is that without being aware of the questions and the implications of the answers, there is the danger that crucial evidence is overlooked, since its implications are not realised. For instance, if we know that the text was written down from the start, we need not, for that time and region, speculate too much about the orality of literature. If we can prove that the author continued to work on a text after publication we cannot rule out author variants easily.

One of the most interesting documents in this respect is the last Sarga of Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, where the author describes how his work was read in the illustrious literary salon of the author's brother around the year 1144.[78] Those present included his teacher Ruyyaka, Kalhaṇa and other well-known figures in Kashmirian literary history. Maṅkha describes the assembly, all the scholars and poets present, then he opens his manuscript of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (*vyastārayat pustakam* 25.142) and reads his text. The audience is absolutely delighted and he offers the work to Śiva.

We can infer at least two things from this account: (1) The main text was not an oral, but a written one. (2) If we regard this public recitation as a sort of publication, we can deduce that Maṅkha had worked on the text after publication, since he obviously added the last chapter, in which the *sabhā* is described. To regard this chapter as a literary fiction is I think unlikely because he would probably not make his contemporaries including his teacher part of such a fictitious meeting. The statement important for our topic is the following, it appears shortly before he introduces the participants individually:

> *santaḥ tādṛśāḥ santi gaṇitāḥ sūktibheṣajam*
> *bhūṣaṇaṃ yaiḥ svavaidusyāt saujanyena vitanyate* (25.14)

> Such persons are counted as virtuous, who because of their learning and out of goodwill furnish [a poem] with embellishment in the form of the remedy for well-turned sayings.

[78] See Walter Slaje: *Bacchanal im Himmel und andere Proben aus Maṅkha*. Wiesbaden 2015.

The verse can be interpreted in a variety of ways, and I have tried to give a neutral rendering. The meaning given by Jonarāja in his succinct, but excellent commentary is much more specific. He says that *sūktibhejaṣaṃ* means the remedy for a Kāvya, in the present case for Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, and that it consists of the removal of errors through the kind experts present at its first recitation: *yaiḥ sadbhiḥ sūkteḥ kāvyasya bheṣajaṃ doṣanivāraṇaṃ saujanyena hetunā svavaidusyād vitanyate.* If we then regard the context, in which the participants of the literary circle, who are about to hear the work of Maṅkha, are thus described, it would mean that these experts—the Ālaṃkārika Ruyyaka was among the listeners—were known or even expected to give hints and corrections to the author. But if so, then the manuscript mentioned in the text to which these corrections were applied and the last Sarga added, would not have looked like an autograph, but like an exemplar that was corrected. Would all scribes have known how to apply the changes and ignore the first version?

If this seems unlikely, far-fetched or even shocking, I would like to point out one verse by Somendra, who reports in a postscriptum to his father's *Avadānakalpalatā* that he had given the work to one "*ācāryaḥ*":

> *yasya hastagataṃ sarvaśāstram āyāti śuddhatām*
> *ācāryaḥ so 'tra sūryaśrīr lipinyāsārtham arthitaḥ* (E.15)

> We have asked Ācārya Sūryaśrī, in whose hands all Śāstra becomes pure, to commit the [text] to writing.

Now *śuddha*, when it comes to language and texts, means "correct", often in the sense of grammatically correct. What Sūryaśrī was credited for was not to produce a nicely written copy, but to purify the text of errors, in other words he acknowledges, as we would do in a book, the help of an editor.

Kṣemarāja, the Editor

It seems, we could open the door behind some texts a little and could get the impression that on the other side there are some hitherto unknown characters silently involved in the production of literature. My argument is that Sanskritists, frustrated by the paucity of sources that could illuminate this

background of particular texts, failed to notice it, even when it was staring into their face. One such failure is connected with the famous *Śivastotrāvalī* by Utpaladeva, which has been edited[79] and also translated a few times.[80]

The *Śivastotrāvalī* is a collection of Stotras attributed to the author Utpaladeva, who lived in Kashmir two generations before Abhinavagupta, perhaps around the middle of the tenth century. Kashmirian libraries house a large number of manuscripts of this work attesting to its popularity. Often it is accompanied by Kṣemarāja's commentary, who is the third in a line of religious transmission from the author.

A study of the manuscript material of this text has been made by Constantina Rhodes-Bailly.[81] She comes to the conclusion that "there were no major variants in any of the manuscripts that I studied, and that the textual tradition of the *Śivastotrāvalī* remained intact, without varying recensions."[82] The actual variants, which include synonyms as for instance *śarīra* for *svarūpa* are not reported by the editor and the text of the first edition is made the basis. This is somewhat astonishing, since the edition of 1964 lists quite a few variants, also in the verses itself, and moreover the commentator Kṣemarāja himself mentions and comments upon variants readings.[83]

Rhodes-Bailly understands Utpaladeva's verses as a "spiritual diary", and believes that we, the readers, are "accompanying Utpala on the wanderings on a marvelous pilgrimage."[84] In this context, the opening verse is interpreted as marking the "outset of the journey",[85] the initial understanding. In other words, the interpretation of the work is biographical and it is at least implicitly suggested that the journey ends, when the accomplished devotee has become a *siddha*,[86] and this is at the very end of the work.

While I have no objections to such an interpretation in general, I am quite surprised that the presupposition that the Stotras are auto-biographical and chronological is taken for granted. This is all the more astonishing, since no reader of the Sanskrit text can avoid being told by the commentator Kṣemarāja

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[79] In the following I refer to the text as edited by RĀJĀNAKA LAKṢMAṆA: *The Śivastotrāvalī of Utpaladevācārya with the Sanskrit Commentary of Kṣemarāja*. Varanasi 1964. [80] Kotru 1985, Rhodes-Bailly 1987, Bonnet 1989. [81] *Shaiva devotional songs of Kashmir: a translation and study of Utpaladeva's Shivastotravali*. Albany 1987. [82] Op. cit., p. 3. [83] For instance, ad 18.7 and 19.4. The reader will notice that the statement that there are no (major, real, original etc.) variants is a recurrent theme. [84] Op. cit., p. 2. [85] Ibid. [86] Op. cit., p. 23

in clear terms that Utpaladeva is not really responsible for the form, in which his text appears:[87]

> *īśvarapratyabhijñākāro vandyābhidhānaḥ śrīmadutpaladevācāryo 'smatparameṣṭhī satatasākṣātkṛtasvātmamaheśvaraḥ svaṃ rūpaṃ tathātvena parāmraṣṭum arthijanānujighṛkṣayā saṃgrahastotrajayastotrabhaktistotrāṇy āhnikastutisūktāni ca kānicin muktakāny eva babandha* |

> The author of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, whose name we have to honour, the glorious teacher Utpaladeva, our *parameṣṭhi*-[*guru*], who had realized his own self as Śiva for ever, composed a *saṃgrahastotra*,[88] a *jayastotra*[89] and a *bhaktistotra*,[90] the verses of an *āhnikastuti* and some single verses.[91] [He did so] to reflect on his own self as Śiva[92] in order to bestow grace on those approaching him.

But then Kṣemarāja continues:

> *atha kadācit tāni eva tadvyāmiśrāṇi labdhvā śrīrāmaḥ (var. śrīrāmarājaḥ) ādityarājaś ca pṛthak pṛthak stotraśayyāyāṃ nyaveśayat* |

> When Śrīrāma and Ādityarāja acquired them, they were mixed up and they placed them separately into Stotra compositions.

Two persons took care of the literary bequest of Utpaladeva, and they found his verses in disarray, at least not as ready-made Stotras. So these verses were placed separately into Stotras. In other words, the mixed verses were arranged by the executors of the literary bequest of Utpaladeva, and it appears that

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[87] For the interpretation of this passage, see also ALEXIS SANDERSON: "The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir", p. 399f. [88] Stotra 13 is called *Saṃgrahastotra* and Kṣemarāja gives a separate introduction for this. [89] The fourteenth Stotra in the *Śivastotrāvalī* is one such, since every line begins with the word *jaya*. [90] The fifteenth is called *bhaktistotra*. [91] Sanderson takes the last two together: "also a number of single-verse poetic hymns for his daily devotions."
[92] *tathātvena* "being thus".

Kṣemarāja, despite living only few generations after the author, and in the same lineage, had no way of cleaning up the transmission. The arrangement of the verses is not one conceived of by the author, but by later redactors. If it reflects the author's spiritual biography, then the credit must go to the medieval editors, who arranged the materials.

And finally the same applies to the names of these Stotras, as Kṣemarāja further informs us:

> *śrīviśvāvarttas tu viṃśatyā stotraiḥ svātmotprekṣitanāmabhir vyavasthāpitavān iti kila śrūyate* /
>
> But as has been handed down, Śrīviśvāvartta established [these] as twenty Stotras, the names of which he coined himself.

The editorial report by Kṣemarāja shows that no less than four persons were involved in the redaction of the so-called *Śivastotrāvalī*: Rāma and Ādityarāja ordered the literary bequest into twenty groups, Viśvāvartta named the resulting Stotras and Kṣemarāja made sense of the collection by commenting on the Stotras in their sequence. Neither the name of the text itself nor most of the names of the Stotras are original.

But Kṣemarāja is, apart from the parts he considers authentic—as for instance the *Saṅgrahastotra*—, highly critical of the presentation of the transmitted text. Already in the second verse he stumbles upon an incongruity, which he blames on the redactor:

> *pūrvaśloke āmantraṇapadābhāvāt bhavadbhaktīti na saṅgatam eveti katham iyaṃ stotraśayyeti śrīviśvāvarta eva praṣṭavyaḥ.* (ad 1.2)
>
> Since there is no term of address in the previous [i.e. first] verse, the phrase *bhavadbhakti-* is not appropriate [in this verse]. Viśvāvarta has to be asked how this can be a Stotra composition.

Viśvāvarta is criticized more frequently in the long commentary and Kṣemarāja acts like an elegant reviewer by combining polemics with restraint. After commenting on some *ślokas* he considers inappropriate, he says (ad

17.49) that this disarray is due to the "grace" (*prasāda*) of Viśvāvarta and that there are many more instances which he, Kṣemarāja, did not disclose, since he wants to comment on the verses.

In one place Kṣemarāja even doubts the ascription to Utpaladeva for reasons of style.

> *kvacid apy asadṛśaśailīdarśanād anārṣa evāyaṃ ślokas tathāpi vyākhyāyate* (20.21)
>
> Since the style is in some places different this verse is not authentic, I explain it nevertheless.

Kṣemarāja says he has been sparse with his criticism, but what we infer from his statements is this: he regards the status of the edition of his predecessors, which really is a new composition of fragments, as problematic. The verses were often not intended to be part of Stotras, and to treat them as if they were does not do justice to the author.

But as we know from more recent examples, such cautionary remarks never work. A printed text—or here one commented upon—almost invariably creates its own history. It seems that Kṣemarāja mentions the history of the text in such unusual detail to alert the reader to the nature of the text, to caution him that the author was not responsible for the arrangement. This would be what we would expect from modern editors as well, but while we find such text-critical awareness a millennium ago in Kashmir, it is much harder to find nowadays, as some translations of this text suggest.

Premodern Indian Textual Criticism

Some of the examples for unpublished texts mentioned in the preceding chapters on inedita can be used for explaining likely scenarios of transmission. They are fairly recent, but have the advantage of being manuscripts that were directly copied from the author's private or original copy, the autograph. Nevertheless we saw that being removed by merely one step from the original did not automatically mean that there were no errors. In two instances[93] copies had obviously been prepared by a scribe who commited regular mistakes, and

[93] The *Dān Kvikṣoṭa* and the *Lekhaśikṣā*.

a second person had to go through the text and add corrections. Some of these errors could be explained by the fact that a scribe without sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit had transcribed a text written in the Kashmirian Śāradā script into the pan-Indian Nāgarī. Many mistakes are typical for such transcriptions, but the corrector did not spot all of them.

If we imagine just one further round of copying, then at least two things might have happened. If the scribe was a Sanskrit scholar, he would have understood and applied the corrections, he even might have added a few obvious corrections and emendations of his own—as we would do when editing the text.[94] His text would be nearer to the author's original, the autograph, than the first apograph.[95]

If, however, the scribe was not a Sanskrit scholar he would not have been able to understand and apply the corrections. Despite the symbols used in correcting Indian (and Kashmirian) manuscripts, often no mechanical substitution is possible, and someone with sufficient knowledge of the language is required to make sense of them. A scribe without such expertise would in other words produce a version displaying an individual mixture of errors from the first generation scribe, minus those rectified by the original corrector which he could understand, plus the inevitable new scribal errors of his own. In this manner, a text could have undergone rather complicated changes just within the first two generations of copying. Needless to say, if we assume that in most parts of India texts had to be copied every few generations to be safely preserved,[96] even the earliest available manuscript of a medieval text is

[94] See above, p. 18. [95] Of course only if he applied corrections very cautiously. If he invented his own "better" readings—not unlike the conjectural school of the nineteenth century—, then it would be difficult to establish what happened. Unless we could actually trace the corrections in the manuscript in which they occurred first, we would simply notice that there are passages where we find among the variants collected from a variety of manuscripts not just one correct reading and many misreadings, but more than one convincing reading; convincing in the sense that it is consistent with all additional pieces of information which a historical-critical editor needs to take into consideration: known style of the author, his vocabulary, his background, and so forth. [96] Exceptions are, for climatic reasons, regions on the northern outskirts of the—for want of a better term—sphere of "Indian" cultural influence, visible in Sanskrit or Prakrit texts recovered from Central Asia or Gandhāra. There birchbark manuscripts could survive for two millenia, whereas in Kashmir, where birchbark was gradually supplanted by paper as the main medium of writing, many texts survive in just one old birchbark codex and many paper manuscripts.

usually the outcome of a long and complicated process of copying, that means with a large number of apographs intervening between the author and the surviving manuscript witnesses.

For explaining what might happen during the transmission of a Sanskrit text, we have to reckon with a variety of phenomena. The first is psychological. Every reader of a text who has learnt a language well enough more or less unconsciously accomplishes the correction of simple errors. For instance, while reading a newspaper we can understand a text that contains simple errors, and sometimes even without becoming aware of the fact. We read over errors that do not pose problems, and if we would write down the text from memory, we would not reproduce the error, but the intended text. This ability to correct texts on the fly is a quite remarkable feat of the human brain and is by no means dependent on specialized (academic) training. It depends on how well we have mastered the language, and it is best when it concerns one's mother tongue. The following text is an amusing example to show that we can extract a text even where the letters in each word are so mixed up that at first sight they appear beyond recognition. The example is in German to prove one of the points I want to make:[97]

> Gemäeß eneir Sutide eneir elgnihcesn Uvinisterät ist es nchit witihcg, in wlecehr Rheflogheie die Bstachuebn in eneim Wrot snid, das ezniige, was wcthiig ist, ist dsas der estre und der leztte Bstacbhue an der ritihcegn Pstoiion sehten.
>
> (Gemäß einer Studie einer englischen Universität ist es nicht wichtig, in welcher Reihenfolge die Buchstaben in einem Wort sind [. . .])

A German speaker would have to read the text slowly, but would not have problems to understand it. One might have to think longer on single words thus disfigured, but in an intelligible context they pose no real problem. The speed of this mental auto-correction shown by this odd example suggests that smaller errors are quite unlikely to even distract a reader, he will correct them before he knows. Here proficiency in the language is the all important

[97] See Bastian Sick: *Der Dativ ist dem Genitiv sein Tod.* Köln 2004, p. 73.

criterion, a few years of school German may not do. Sanskrit is not different, but the question of the mastery of language is more complex, since it has been, for the time concerned, not a first language to anyone. An educated scholar may reconstruct a garbled text correctly, whereas a scribe with a poor knowledge of Sanskrit, may produce a text that looks more like our German example above.

Of course here the specifics of Sanskrit come to play, the fact that many combinations of letters may yield a meaning, but if one does not stretch the boundaries too far, the same principle should work, as in the translation of the text above:

> *āṅglaśīyadesya vilayaśvadyāvisya ayadhyanasya anurāseṇa esyaka pasyada vakrarṇama aprasāntam* [. . .]
>
> (*āṅgladeśīyasya viśvavidyālayasya adhyayanasya anusāreṇa ekasya padasya varṇakrama asāmpratam* [. . .])

There are further aspects of scribal psychology and typical errors that have to do with the character of Sanskrit manuscripts: Most manuscripts consist of unbound leaves, which may get scattered and can be reassembled wrongly. Then the oblong format of most Indian manuscripts, which is derived from the form of a palm leaf and produces extremely long lines, can lead to errors, since the eye when jumping back to the left margin may easily miss the correct line.[98]

Many errors and their correction must have seemed no doubt a simple matter for a learned expert scholar. Like a reader of the German text above, he would have silently corrected errors. This is what the tenth-century commentator Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha states:[99]

> *pāṭhabhedo 'tra sādhur vā tadanyo vā na mūlataḥ*
> *kiṃ tu adhyetṛbhramāt tena tatpradarśanam ajñatā*

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[98] This is why in European typography we learn that when the length of the lines (typically between 60 and 80 character) and the leading (vertical distance between lines) is harmonized, reading is less exhausting. [99] See Dominic Goodall: *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary on the Kiraṇatantra*. vol. I: chapter 1–6. Critical edition and annotated translation. Pondichéry 1998, p. cxviii. I have modified Goodall's translation to emphasize the points I want to make.

> Variant readings in this work (*atra*), whether good or bad, are not [derived] from the original (*mūla*), but from the error of readers. Therefore to point them out [only displays one's] ignorance.

This statement describes a common-sensical method of error correction, which we may assume also for the Indian manuscript transmission, as far as manuscripts written by scholars are concerned. The transmission of texts may therefore not only contain inadvertent errors by scribes, but also corrections of these by scholars going over the texts or producing copies themselves. In such a transmission the preconditions of the stemmatical method are not met with, since the scholarly scribe is far from mechanically reproducing the text of a single apograph. He applies obvious corrections, he may be aware of and may decide between variants. Editors are of course the "worst" of contaminators, because they work intelligently, and their interventions are more difficult to detect.

Indian scribes usually have a bad reputation for not understanding Sanskrit and therefore producing very erroneous manuscripts. This image of a *kulekhaka* is not one that has been introduced by Orientalist scholars, but long created in indigenous commentaries.

The first foreigner to mention this in writing was perhaps al-Bīrūnī, who states:

> [. . .] Indian scribes are careless, and do not take pains to produce correct and well-collated copies [. . .] [an author's] book becomes already in the first or second copy so full of faults, that the text appears as something entirely new [. . .][100]

But this lament is not limited to any specific time or country or culture. Take the following quotation: "The state of the holy books is really deplorable, if their authority depends on unlearned copyists (as they mostly are) or intoxicated typesetters". This is by the famous Dutch editor Erasmus with reference to the Christian world.[101]

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[100] Transl. Sachau, vol. 1, p. 18. [101] "Misera vero conditio sacrorum voluminum, si horum auctoritas pendet ab indoctis, ut fere sunt, librariis, aut temulentis typographis". Quoted from Jan Krans: *Beyond what is written*. Leiden: Brill 2006, p. 7.

The verses frequently given by scribes to apologize for any errors and thereby asking for a general excuse for the bad state of the text did not help. These verses are, as if to prove the point, sometimes written in faulty Sanskrit. Here I shall quote a more elaborate and sophisticated one:

ādarśadoṣāt smṛtivibhramād vā
yad arthahīnaṃ likhitaṃ mayādya
tat sarvam āryaiḥ pariśodhanīyam
prāyeṇa muhyanti hi ye likhanti

> Whatever I may have written today that is meaningless—because of a fault in the manuscript copied or an error in perception—all that the noble ones may please correct.[102] Whoever writes, tends to err.

More often the statement is to the effect that the copyist has just reproduced his source without any change. For any errors the manuscript source is to be blamed. This, by the way, would be the ideal scribe for stemmatology to work.

But the negative view of scribes is one-sided. Tripathi rightly emphasizes that manuscripts were first written, corrected, read and preserved by scholars, not by scribes.[103] On the other hand, pre-modern Sanskrit scholars are castigated for doing exactly the opposite: emending and even rewriting texts that are transmitted in bad shape. The most famous case is reported by Bühler, who talks of the practice of "cooking Sanskrit books",[104] which means that "lacunae and defects in the original are filled in according to the fancy of the Pandit who corrects them". One example he specifically mentions concerns one of the authors mentioned above, Sāhib Rām. According to Bühler he had been ordered by Ranbir Singh to produce a copy of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, and

[102] The text is quoted by Colas from a source which is not accessible to me at present. He prints *pariṣodhanīyam*, which cannot be correct, but Colas' translation indicated that he meant *pariśodhanīyam*. See Gérard Colas: "Relecture et techniques de correction dans les manuscrits indiens". In: Christian Jacob: *Lieux de Savoir 2. Les mains de l'intellect*. Paris 2011, p. 501f. [103] *granthānāṃ racanākārāḥ, teṣāṃ prathamalekhakāḥ, pāṇḍulipīnāṃ śodhakāḥ, tāsāṃ pāṭhakāḥ, tāsāṃ saṃrakṣaṇakartāraś ca paṇḍitā evāsan, na tu kāyasthāḥ*. Gaya Caran Tripathi: "saṃskṛtapāṇḍulipīnāṃ saṃrakṣaṇe paṇḍitānām avadānam". In: *The Pandit. Traditional Scholarship in India*. Delhi 2001, p. 204. [104] Georg Bühler: *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss. made in Kásmír, Rajputana, and Central India*. Bombay/London 1877, p. 33.

since the beginning of this text was lost, he "restored" it with the help of what he knew about the mythology and history of Kashmir. This restoration was used for the edition of the text by Kanjilal and Zadoo (the above-mentioned co-translator of Don Quixote), whereas in de Vreese's critical edition[105] this longer version has been rejected for critical purposes. But it is interesting what de Vreese writes on Sāhib Rām's augmented version: "As, however, the Paṇḍit possessed an intimate knowledge of ancient Kashmirian history, the insertions and additions by him deserve due consideration as a commentary."[106]

In order to put Bühler's remarks, which conjure a fairly negative image of Indian editing, into perspective I would like to point out further examples, where editors have added to texts what they thought was appropriate. The first example is that of the famous editor Erasmus of Rotterdam (died 1536), who produced during his lifetime a large number of editions of religious texts, but also of secular texts of classical Latin and Greek authors. His editions were usually based on merely one or two manuscripts and he does not often refer to readings, but was prone to interpolation, a practice unfortunately typical for the humanists. When critical editing started in Europe, these Humanist editions were therefore completely rejected in favour of older manuscripts.

But the extent of such interventions was considerable. Erasmus in one case even added a tract of his own to a collection, a fact that was recognized only centuries later,[107] and here the border between conjectural editing and forgery is difficult to draw.

What makes this case even more spectacular is that the Greek and Latin text of the Bible used throughout Europe and even viewed some time after Erasmus as the unalterable word of God itself is actually such a haphazard edition by Erasmus. Its deficiencies were obvious to scholars and theologians, who had looked at the manuscripts, but the status of this edition as the divine word was so strong that it was only in the nineteenth century that critics dared to read with the superior variants. Before this it was possible to add these variants in the footnote apparatus, but for religious reasons one could not change the received text (*textus receptus*).

[105] Konraad de Vreese: *Nīlamata-purāṇa or teachings of Nīla*. Leiden 1936. [106] Op. cit., p. xi. [107] H.T.M. van Vliet: "Altphilologie und Editionswissenschaft in den Niederlanden". In: *Geschichte der Editionsverfahren vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart im Überblick*, p. 42.

Later times were not exempt from the problem of additions and interpolations. One example[108] would be the lost beginning of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*.[109] The text survives in one very old Nepalese manuscript (perhaps 1300), where the beginning is missing. Then we have what must be copies of this manuscript, which however do contain the beginning. The first editions print this beginning as if it was part of the text, but it was actually written by the Nepalese Pandit Amṛtānanda in 1830, and as shown by Okano[110] this beginning has its origin in the *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*. This augmented version was the source of the later manuscripts. Here the rule that such interpolations have to be dismissed is all-important in order to avoid the impression that this part of the text is actually by Aśvaghoṣa. If we print such additions within the text, then there is the danger that even in academic circles, who should know better, it may gradually be seen as part of the text. I am saying this rather self-critically, as our next example will show, where a text written by an editor has acquired the status of an original.

The *Viṃśatikā*, or preferably *Viṃśikā*[111] of Vasubandhu[112] was, like so many other Buddhist texts, not transmitted any more in India, but survives only in a single palm-leaf manuscript in the Durbar Library now kept in the National Archives, Kathmandu. In view of the great importance of this text for Buddhist idealist or illusionist thought this is all the more astonishing. Under these circumstances the task of an editor may seem straightforward, because he could be content with reproducing the text of the single manuscript with occasional emendations, if these should prove necessary. But fortunately or unfortunately, the parallel transmission of this text in Tibetan and Chinese versions provides ample grounds for text-critical interventions.

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[108] For the following I am grateful to Roland Steiner. [109] See Roland Steiner: "Truth under the Guise of Poetry. Aśvaghoṣa's "Life of the Buddha"." In: *Lives Lived. Lives Imagined. Biography in the Buddhist Traditions*. Ed. Linda Covill et. al. Boston 2010, p. 89–121. [110] Kiyoshi Okano: *Sarvarakṣitas Mahāsaṃvartanīkāthā*. Ph. D. dissertation. Marburg 1997. [111] For this and further materials, see Kano Kazuo: "Two Short Glosses on Yogācāra Texts by Vairocanarakṣita: *Viṃśikāṭīkāvivṛti* and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāgavivṛti*." In: Francesco Sferra: *Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection*. Part I. Roma 2008, p. 350 and 353. [112] The following is a brief summary in English of Jürgen Hanneder: "Vasubandhus *Viṃśatikā* 1–2 anhand der Sanskrit- und tibetischen Fassungen". In: *Festschrift für Michael Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden und Schülern überreicht*. Ed. by Konrad Klaus and Jens-Uwe Hartmann. Wien 2007, p. 207–214.

An edition of the *Viṃśatikā* was published as early as 1925 by Sylvain Lévi[113] from the *codex unicus*, and with the help of the Tibetan and Chinese versions. This has remained the basis of further prints and studies. Much later, in 1989, this manuscript was made accessible in a facsimile edition.[114] On this basis a new edition with a Polish translation and a commentary was published in 1999,[115] in which an attempt is made to examine and improve Lévi's edition with the help of the manuscript.

When I read the text of the *Viṃśatikā* some time ago in a seminar held at the indological Institute in Halle, it was natural to make the latest edition by Balcerowicz the basis of the reading class, since there some misreadings from the first edition had been corrected. We started reading the text and, since none of us could read Polish, we altogether missed the fact that the first two verses—although given in the edition in Sanskrit—are not actually transmitted in Sanskrit. As is so often the case, the beginning of the manuscript was missing.

When we retraced the sources, we saw that in Lévi's edition the first two verses are in smaller print and we could read that they had been translated back from Tibetan and Chinese into Sanskrit by Lévi himself. Despite Lévi's care, the habit to print a complete text produced a natural tendency to view verses one and two as part of the text, and this gradually led to a full integration of the verses by Lévi in some cases.[116] I was led into the same trap.

The example is mainly given to show what critical philologists know well: if one makes the effort to investigate the sources for oneself, the outcome may be quite unexpected. So when I tried to atone for my *pramāda* and conducted a reinvestigation of the sources of this text, there was a surprise. The facsimile edition contained not only the manuscript used by Lévi, but two more. One was a direct copy of the old manuscript, the other transmits only the Kārikās without the auto-commentary. To my surprise the latter contained all Kārikās, that means also verses one and two.

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[113] *Deux Traités de Vasubandhu, Viṃśatikā et Triṃśikā, 1 Partie — Texte, Sthiramati's Bhāṣya*. Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 1925. [114] *Three Works of Vasubandhu in Sanskrit Manuscript. The Trisvabhāvanirdeśa, the Viṃśatikā with its Vṛtti, and the Triṃśikā with Sthiramati's Commentary*. Ed. by Katsumi Mimaki, Musashi Tachikawa, and Akira Yuyama, Tokyo 1989. [115] Piotr Balcerowicz and Monika Nowakowska. In: *Studia Indologiczne* 6 (1999), p. 5–44. [116] T. R. Sharma: *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*. With Introduction, Translation and Commentary. Delhi 1993.

So let us first look at the published version, for it is the one that has been printed and translated:

> *vijñaptimātram evaitad asadarthāvabhāsanāt /*
> *yathā taimirikasyāsatkeśacandrādidarśanam //*

Here one is struck by the unusual expression *keśacandrādi* in Pāda d. The famous Austrian Sanskritist and Buddhologist Frauwallner translates it as "Haarringe usw.", but without explaining the compound. This is a famous exemplification of an error of perception, which is usually called *keśoṇḍuka*, and describes a net of hair. Another possibility would be to assume an elliptic compound and understand *keśacandrādi* as *keśoṇḍukadvicandrādi*. But then we may wonder why an author would express himself in this clumsy way.

Here I must remind the reader that this is a text written by Lévi. The source for this text was of course the Tibetan version of this verse, which runs as follows:

> *'di dag rnam par rig tsam ñid /*
> *yod pa ma yin don snaṅ phyir /*
> *dper na rab rib can dag gis /*
> *skra zla la sogs med mthoṅ bźin /*

Here we seem to have *zla* as an additional example, perhaps inserted in order to gain an additional syllable for filling the line. In the Sanskrit this could only be achieved by utmost compression. There are further complications of this, which I can only briefly mention: We have a quotation of the verse, where we find the reading *keśakīṭa*, which is what the Chinese version translates. But, again, the problem with *keśacandra* is that it is not transmitted.

Let us now see what the manuscript of the Kārikā actually reads:

> *vijñaptimātram evedam asadarthāvabhāsanāt /*
> *yadvat taimirakasyāsatkeśoṇḍukādidarśanam //*

The variants against Lévi are *idam* against *etat*, *yadvat* against *yathā*, which I think is blameless, *taimiraka* for *taimirika*, a type of common variation in manuscripts, and most importantly, *keśoṇḍukādi* for *keśacandrādi*. We

might deliberate on the cause for the reading in the Tibetan, but the Sanskrit version seems convincing, and one should not forget a small but decisive detail: *keśacandrādi* is not a transmitted text.

Examples in this lecture often illustrate a text-critical principle, sometimes merely a more anecdotal morale, like the famous rule of Kosambi that the value of a manuscript is "inversely proportional to the fuzz made in lending it".[117] One other such rule would be that once we unravel the genesis of an edition, things may become much more complicated than we could have ever imagined. In the previous example we could easily solve one textual problem and dismiss a text that was written by a scholar rather than by the author, a cautionary tale about so-called re-translations from Tibetan into Sanskrit. But a second look at the manuscripts showed a more fundamental problem.

The text is contained twice in the Tibetan Canon, as no. 4061, which contains only the Kārikās, and 4062 which contains the Vṛtti with the Kārikās in the peculiar way interspersed with the auto-commentary as we know it from the Sanskrit version.[118] In no. 4061 we find the Tibetan of verse 1 as printed above, but 4062, the version with the Vṛtti, does not transmit this verse. La Vallee Poussin briefly alludes to this in a footnote to the translation, but the implications of this have not been made clear and were not thought through. In the commentated version the content of the first verse is expressed in prose, nothing is missing from the argumentative structure of the treatise.

In other words, there were obviously two versions of the *Viṃśatikā*, one Kārikā version and one Savṛtti version, both complete as far as the contents are concerned, but differing in one verse. One likely explanation would be that the commented version is the original, but when one wanted to transmit the Kārikās separately, the main philosophical proposition, which was formulated in prose, would have been missing and so this was made into an additional verse, our verse 1. Only in Lévi's edition this verse, which fits only in the Kārikā version, was added to the commented version, thus producing a *Viṃśatikā* with 22 verses and an ahistorical conflated text. Here the Tibetan translators who preserved both versions separately were text-critically more far-sighted.

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[117] D. D. Kosambi: *Epigrams attributed to Bhartṛhari*. Bombay 1948, p. 10. [118] *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Taipei Edition*. Vol. XL. Nr. 4061 starts on p. 348, folio 5, line 4.

Coming back to our starting point, which was "cooking manuscripts", it appears that there are many methods to alter transmissions, and even with the best of intentions.

The crucial difference is, however, that in modern editions an introduction, the footnotes or other paratexts acquaint us with the history of the text and other details. Pre-modern editors have on the contrary often worked without leaving traces and changed a text silently. Such manuscripts, cleverly and silently emended, may stand out in a group of manuscripts easily as the "best manuscript" among more menial apographs. Absurdly, following such a best manuscript is not always a bad idea, since the editor could have well known more about the text, its author and the cultural background than a modern editor, thus his chances of restoring a reading correctly might have been much higher. But we cannot be sure, it may well be just an application of conjectures, or an attempt to "improve" the text.

So how can we find out about the principles employed by pre-modern Indian editors? There are a few normative texts that incidentally deal with our topic. One is on the donation of manuscripts,[119] where we find descriptions of the qualities of a scribe, rules for writing manuscripts, how to draw the lines, which script to use, how to prepare the pen, the ink etc. Technical terms are given there, as the manuscript's dust jacket (*malapṛṣṭha*) etc. Most important for our purpose are the rules for correcting the text.[120] The scribe was supposed to correct by taking into account metre, context, surrounding words, proper grammar, and as Dutta notes, this was to be done without prior collation of other manuscripts: "Obviously it is one of the causes that brought forth the widespread corruption of manuscripts in this country."[121] According to the European terminology this would amount to an *emendatio ope ingenii.*

But these Purāṇic sources were fortunately not the last word on editing. We may assume that for scholars it was clear that in order to edit a text a survey of sources had to be made. But what to do with the evidence? Is it, as

[119] The passage from Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* and others are discussed in Kali Kumar Dutta: "The Ritual of Manuscripts". In: *Our Heritage* 19.1 (1971), p. 15–44. I am very grateful to Manu Francis for alerting me to this work. [120] Op. cit., p. 31ff. [121] Op. cit., p. 32.

Rāmakaṇṭha tells us, unnecessary, or even a confession of one's own insecurity to talk about readings? No, says Abhinavagupta:[122]

> *upādeyasya sampāṭhas tadanyasya pratīkanam*
> *sphuṭavyākhyā virodhānāṃ parihāraḥ supūrṇatā*
> [. . .] *ayaṃ vyākhyāprakāro 'tra samāśritaḥ*

> To read what has to be accepted, to reproduce what has been discarded, a lucid explanation, avoiding inconsistencies, completeness [. . .] —this method of commenting we have followed here.

The implications of these brief remarks are interesting. "Reading what is to be accepted" may not sound spectacular, but seems to imply that one should *not* just copy a manuscript, but read the correct text, in other words to present the text as it is established with the help of the sources, not just to reproduce the source. To make a *pratīka*, that is, to mention in the text that which is not accepted as the correct (*samyak*) reading (*pāṭha*) is a rule with which Abhinavagupta may seem ahead of this time, but may be actually describing the more sophisticated scholarly editorial practice. An example would be his commentary on the last verse of the *Ghaṭakarpara*, where he says that there is no good reason to read this inappropriate verse there, as is done in some manuscripts.[123]

For in fact commentaries—and only here are we presented with the reasoning for an editorial choice—abound with discussions of readings. Just one example: in *Meghadūta* 2c we find the reading [*āṣāḍhasya*] *praśamadivase* versus *prathamadivase*, so the question is whether the raincloud comes to the Yakṣa on the last or the first day of that month. Vallabhadeva was aware of both readings and says that the variant is an error caused by paleographical similarity of *śa* and *tha*.[124] What is interesting here is of course to infer the

[122] Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi (ed.): *Nāṭyaśāstra with the commentary of Abhinavagupta.* Baroda 1926, vol. 1, p. 1f. [123] *atra kecid iti paṭhanti [. . .] ayaṃ ślokaḥ atratya iva na lakṣyate, pustakeṣu kena kāraṇena gata iti na vidmaḥ.* Madhusudan Kaul Shastri: *The Ghaṭakarpara Kāvya of Kālidāsa. With the Commentary of Abhinavagupta.* Srinagar 1945, verse 20, p. 19. [124] *kecit tu śakārathakārayor lipisārūpyamohāt prathama ity ūcuḥ.* E. Hultzsch: *Kalidasa's Meghaduta.* London 1911, p. 3.

text-critical presuppositions. Vallabhadeva assumed that a scribe had confused the letters, in other words he has given a paleographical argument for the source of error and appeals to meteorological facts for the solution, what Kantorowitz has later termed the criterion of "Sachgeschichte".

Thus, by far the best way to see an Indian editor practise his art is in commentaries, where from stray remarks on variant readings we can gather his method. Admittedly the literature to be examined is extremely vast, but some scholars have done their best to collect statements of commentators on matters of textual criticism.[125]

From these collections it becomes abundantly clear that commentators often, perhaps as a rule, compared manuscripts systematically. Even though only few readings are reported, the frequency of references to variant readings suggests that this meant more than an occasional glance at a second manuscript, even if this is naturally difficult to prove.

If we review the information on commentators given so far, we find a variety of pre-modern Indian approaches to editing. We have already seen in the above quotation from Rāmakaṇṭha something like the idea of silent emendation. His contemporary Abhinavagupta on the contrary favoured a discussion of competing variants. The famous commentator Mallinātha regularly in his commentaries produces a statement, which we might interpret as an abstinence from conjecture, although his statement is too unspecific to be sure.[126] Editors also mention their sources—in the absence of library catalogues we cannot expect more than general adjectives to describe these codices—, or the fact that they have collected manuscripts from different areas, as Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator on the *Mahābhārata*.[127]

[125] Especially noteworthy are: GÉRARD COLAS: "The Criticism and Transmission of Texts in Classical India". In: *Diogenes* 47 (1999), p. 30–43. French version: "Critique et transmission des textes dans la littérature sanskrite". In: L. CHIARD and CHR. JACOB: *Des Alexandries I. Du livre au texte*. Paris 2001. RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA: "Use of manuscripts in textual criticism by our commentators." In: V. V. DVIVEDI, J. PANDEYA (ed.) *Sampādana ke Siddhānta aur Upādāna*. Samyak-Vāk Series 5 (1990), p. 200–221. [126] *nāmūlaṃ likhyate kiṃcit* [. . .] (*The Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa*. Ed. H. D. VELANKAR Bombay 1949, p. 1) might also mean that he held his commentary free from irrelevant discussions. [127] *bahūn samāhṛtya vibhinnadeśyān kośān viniścitya ca pāṭham agryam / prācāṃ gurūṇām anusṛtya vācām ārabhyate bhāratabhāvadīpaḥ*. *The Mahābhāratam*. [. . .] nīlakaṇṭhaviracitabhāvadīpākhyaṭīkayā sametam. Delhi: Nag Publishers 1988, introductory verse 6.

A further category is formed by statements about the validity of certain readings, from which we can reconstruct criteria for the selection of variants. This sometimes also involves an assessment of the status or quality of the manuscript, from which the reading stems. Here age can be one criterion: it is mentioned, for instance, whether a manuscript is ancient, old, or modern. It may be from a certain area, or "another area" (*deśāntara*) implying probably a different script. We read of good manuscripts (*satpustaka*), or of decrepit ones (*jīrṇa*). The implication here is of course that "old" implies authority, a fact we can gather from a polemical remark on the blind belief in old manuscripts: Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, when commenting on the validity of tradition says that everyone could produce a decrepit manuscript and claim that it is an (unknown but valid) Āgama.[128]

There is unsurprisingly no stemmatics, but there are proto-stemmatical considerations as we find them in pre-modern European critics. Agreement in manuscripts is often a criterion for the adoption of a reading, and we have an argument remotely resembling the *eliminatio singulorum lectionum*, when the *kvacitkaḥ pāṭhaḥ* is not followed.

Beyond considerations on manuscripts and on constellations of manuscripts, the value of singular readings was of course assessed. Here we find a large repertoire of terms and concepts that await further study. Ram Shankar Bhattacharya has presented an invaluable catalogue of such passages and announced a monographical volume on the topic,[129] which unfortunately never appeared. For the present purpose I merely give a few examples from the literature mentioned above, enriched with material assembled through a quick and rather coarse method, namely a search for the word "(variant) reading" (*pāṭha*) in the *Göttingen Register of Texts in Indian Languages* (GRETIL). The computer-based search in this archive yielded many pertinent passages, in which commentators were arguing for or against a reading. Commentators talk about reading words as a compound (*samastapāṭha*) rather than separating it, they talk of a split in readings (*pāṭhabheda*), that is, the existence of variants in a given passage, we find augmented or deficient readings (*adhika-*,

[128] The passage is discussed in JÜRGEN HANNEDER: *Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Revelation. An Edition and Annotated Translation of Mālinīślokavārttika I, 1–399*. Groningen 1998, p. 10.
[129] BHATTACHARYA: "Use of manuscripts in textual criticism by our commentators.", p. 221.

ūna-pāṭha) and most often alternative readings are reported (*iti ca pāṭhaḥ, iti vā pāṭhaḥ, iti pāṭhāntaraḥ*). Then there are readings of a certain commentary (*vṛttigranthasya pāṭhaḥ*), there is also awareness of regional recensions, visible in reflections on a *drāviḍa-* or *āndhrapāṭha*. Sometimes additional remarks introduce a sort of hierarchy. For instance, the discarded reading, which is called *apapāṭha*, is the one that appears only in some manuscripts (*iti kvacit pāṭhaḥ, iti kvacit granthe pāṭhaḥ*). Readings of other—in this case Vedic—recensions (*kāṇvapāṭha, śākhāntarapāṭhāt*) are referred to, or other commentators are quoted (*iti haridāsapāṭhāntaraḥ*). Then there are various arguments for the better reading: it may be the traditionally accepted one (*sāmpradāyika, āmnāyapāṭha*), the wide-spread reading (*prāyapāṭha*), mostly it is simply the correct, the right reading (*yuktaḥ pāṭhaḥ, samyakpāṭha*). A reading may be preferable because it is old (*pracīna, ārṣa*) or found in many sources (*bahupustakeṣu pāṭhaḥ*). Sometimes a reading is not nice (*iti pāṭho na manoramaḥ*), or some reading may just be an *aprāmāṇikaḥ pāṭhaḥ*. Hitherto there have been only hesitant attempts to infer from such passages a text-critical theory. Bhattacharya states that "some of the principles conceived by modern scholars were known" to these commentators.[130] Indeed many of these principles are common-sensical and could have been found by an intelligent editor at any time and irrespective of birth-place. Here are a few more observations by commentators regarding the transmission of texts.

1. The text is stated to be corrupt, beyond repair, or there is doubt whether the transmitted reading is correct (*īdṛśeṣu kośaśuddhiḥ kīdṛśīti cintyam*).
2. The genuineness of a passage is questioned. Often this concerns verses inserted (*prakṣipta*) by later transmitters. Occasionally we find a historical perspective to explain such changes, when for instance passages are labelled as a "modern fabrication" (*ādhunikakalpita*).[131]
3. Causes of corruption are the "bad scribe" or "carelessness" (*pramāda*).
4. An interesting category is the "carelessness" (*pramāda*) of the author, which shows that quite contrary to a wide-spread notion old-Indian

[130] Op. cit., p. 220. [131] See below.

criticism had a clear concept of authorial intention. Goodall has unearthed cases, where the Kālidāsa commentator Vallabhadeva thought that the grammatically problematic reading was original.[132] And there is of course the literary criticism of Kāvya works, where such problems are picked out, and there are even attempts to remedy the situation, as in the *Sāhityakaṇṭakoddhāra*[133] a work by a, seventeenth/eighteenth-century author who tries to explain away such problems. The author states that his approach was new.[134]

And one would indeed be astonished, in such a sophisticated literary tradition as the Sanskritic, if deliberations on readings would not display the Śāstric sophistication one is used to from other branches of Indian literature.[135]

It must be obvious that these remarks merely touch the surface of old-Indian criticism. One of the issues omitted here that would call for a differentiation is that of the genres. A later author might decide to "finish" a fragmentary Kāvya, also a Purāṇa like the *Nīlamata* could be supplied with a meaningful beginning, but one could not—at least not without divine inspiration—interfere with a revealed text.

What even such a superficial and cursory summary demonstrates, is that pre-modern Indian textual transmission is in parts far from the scenario that would be required for stemmatics to work. India had its highly differentiated *ars critica*, and this fact has to be taken into account when editing these texts.

In his article on pre-modern Indian text transmission Colas asks "did the traditional Indian world know the concept of critical edition?"[136] and gives three possible answers: (1) No, which means that nothing can be learned today from older Indian attempts to edit texts. (2) Some Indian approaches "mirror [. . .] western-style critical edition". (3) "traditional Indian textual

[132] DOMINIC GOODALL: "Bhūte 'āha' iti pramādāt: Firm Evidence for the Direction of Change Where Certain Verses of the Raghuvaṃśa are Variously Transmitted". In: ZDMG 151 (2001), p. 103–124. [133] Ed. T. VENKATACHARYA. Delhi 1980. [134] *na kṣuṇṇo 'yaṃ parair mārgas tatra saṃcarato mama.* (*Sāhityakaṇṭakoddhāra* 11a). [135] One highly technical, āyurvedic example is given by P. K. Gode in his *Textual Criticism in the Thirteenth Century* (*Woolner Commemoration Volume*. Lahore 1940), p. 107f. Discussing one passage in Hemādri's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Gode comes to the conclusion that this commentator has a "love of elaborate defense (*samarthanā*) of a single reading". [136] COLAS: *Criticism and Transmission*, p. 30.

criticism" did not aim at reconstructing text "in its original form as the author conceived it" but merely a best version.

The question is of course just an opener and the material provided by Colas shows that "Indian textual criticism" as well as "European textual criticism" are collective terms for highly heterogeneous practises. Therefore the conceptual opposition between "Western" and "Eastern" criticism can be misleading.[137] What we may meaningfully compare are specific practices, and here there are significant overlaps or even parallel methods.

- Diplomatic transcript. Used in European criticism for documents which have the status of an autograph, like inscriptions. Resembles a widely-spread scribal practice in India. (*yathā dṛṣṭaṃ tathā likhitaṃ*)
- Conjectural improvement of texts. Wide-spread in renaissance editing as well as in some schools of "Konjekturalkritik". This may include the extreme cases of insertions of whole passages into a text, which we find most prominently with Erasmus of Rotterdam,[138] or in Sāhib Rām's "completion" of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* etc.
- Examination of readings with documentation in Abhinavagupta's approach. This is perhaps the closest to modern editing.
- Edition based on extensive recensio. Commentators on the *Mahābhārata* like Nīlakaṇṭha, Devabodha, Arjunamiśra and Ratnagarbha deal with various readings, Nīlakaṇṭha expressly states that his manuscripts are from various areas.

[137] For instance, Colas' idea that it is "only modern research that has shed light on these intentional interventions in the manuscript transmission." (p. 35) would have to be modified in view of the frequent identification of *prakṣipta* verses by commentators. There was also clearly an idea of the style of the author as the main criterium, as we can read in the above-mentioned Kṣemarāja's commentary on *Śivastotrāvalī* 20.21, where he judges a stanza to be not by Utpaladeva because it displayed a style unworthy of him (*asadṛśaśailī*). [138] H. T. M. van Vliet: "Altphilologie und Editionswissenschaft in den Niederlanden". In: Hans Gert Roloff (ed.): *Geschichte der Editionsverfahren vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart im Überblick*. Berlin 2003, p. 41f.

- Rejection of conjectures even when readings are clearly corrupt, the rule: *sthitasya gatiś cintanīyā*.[139]
- *pāṭhakramād arthakramo balīyān*. The idea that emendation is necessary and that it has to start from the contents. Or phrased with typical Housman polemics: "There is a foolish sort of conjecture, which seems to be commoner in the British Isles than anywhere else, though it is also practised abroad, and of late years especially in Munich. The practice is, if you have persuaded yourself that a text is corrupt, to alter a letter or two and see what happens. If what happens is anything which the warmest good-will can mistake for sense and grammar, you call it an emendation; and you call this silly game the paleographical method [. . .] Haupt, for example, used to warn his pupils against mistaking this sort of thing for emendation. 'The prime requisite of a good emendation', said he, 'is that it should start from the thought: it is only afterwards that other considerations, such as those of metre, or possibilities, such as the interchange of letters, are taken into account.'"[140]

In the criticism of the epics commentators have always been aware of the fact that the text often is problematic and has suffered at the hands of redactors or users. In an article on *Textual Criticism in the Thirteenth Century* P. K. Gode[141] quotes from the manuscript of Madhvācārya's commentary on the *Mahābhārata* (BORI 275 of 1892–95), who comes to this diagnosis:

> *atha bhāratavākyāny etair evādhyavasyante* (2)
> *kvacid granthān prakṣipanti kvacid antaritān api*
> *kuryuḥ kvacic ca vyatyāsaṃ pramādāt kvacid anyathā* (3)
>
> Now the words of the *Mahābhārata* are established by those [as follows]: In some place they insert verses[142], in another they

[139] The translation of this maxim is somewhat difficult: "It is necessary to consider the situation of what is there". (Colas) "Il faut réfléchir à la situation de ce qui est là." (Colas). Much more to the point is "Some way must be sought to understand the text as it stands" (Pollock, reported by Colas). [140] "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism". In: *The Classical Papers of A. E. Housman*. Collected and Edited by J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear. Cambridge: University Press 1972, p. 1064f. [141] *Woolner Commemoration Volume*. Lahore 1940, p. 106. [142] *grantha* is here used in the sense of a 32-syllable unit.

remove them, elsewhere they exchange them by negligence or elsewhere in other ways.

In other words, the medieval diagnosis from within the tradition was fairly drastic. Gode himself speaks of "vandalic tendencies" and "malpractices".[143]

All this is hardly new or unexpected. Already Jacobi in his work on the *Rāmāyaṇa* has shown that in the transmission of this text commentators followed different maxims and principles and criticized each other for it. I shall translate the interesting passage here in full:[144]

> After the main recensions had been determined and then were transmitted mostly through writing through learned tradition, their fate was quite comparable to those of other such texts. The commentators deleted verses and passages they termed as *prakṣipta*, chose between various readings, or tried to improve a corrupt passage through conjecture. From the Tilaka we can get a clear picture of these processes and an impression of the opinion of its author Rāmavarman on textual criticism. There readings are regularly mentioned, rejected or justified, by being labelled "old" (*prācīna*), "transmitted" (*pāṅkta* or *sāmpradāyika*), "based on many manuscripts" (*bahupustakasammata*), but also "not transmitted" (*apāṅkta*) or "conjecture of a recent author" (*ādhunikakalpitaḥ pāṭhaḥ*).
>
> [Footnote:] Maheśvaratīrtha seems to have been more bold in conjecturing. Rāmavarman often mentions his conjectures without approval [. . .]: *Tīrthas tu 'atra jīvitasaṅgamaḥ' iti pāṭham kalpayāmāsa.*

Thus one simply needs to take into account the obvious fact that there were different methods and principles in pre-modern Indian textual criticism. A wholesale comparison with modern "scientific" methods (which ones?) is likely to give a distorted picture. What this means for the prospect of editing texts through the method of Lachmann should be by now clear. If the transmission of a text displays too many excellent readings, many marginal

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143 Ibid., p. 107. 144 Hermann Jacobi: *Das Rāmāyaṇa*. Darmstadt 1970 [Bonn ¹1893], p. 9f.

variants, too few scribal mistakes and does not fall neatly into stemmatic branches, then we might have among our sources, or subarchetypes one old-Indian edition. In this case the Lachmann method cannot work.

Textual Criticism in Early Indology

Indology, as practised in Europe, differs from many other philologies in design. As in Classical Philology there is no division into the discrete academic disciplines "literature" on the one hand and "linguistics" on the other, as we find as a rule in modern philologies as English or Romance Studies.

Furthermore, the collocations between language and epoch and other factors do not work as expected: The two "classical" languages Sanskrit and Tamil reach into the present, and, most importantly for textual criticism, the shift from manuscript to printed book occured in India only during the nineteenth century. This means that as regards text transmission no simple differentiation between classical, medieval and (early) modern can be made. The modes of transmission of many Sanskrit texts remain "classical" until modernity. But others, as for instance many Buddhist texts in non-standard Sanskrit, have more in common with European medieval texts, and can benefit more from methods developed in modern philologies. As a result, textual criticism in Indology is a strange creature. We know that it is there, but everyone has widely differing ideas about what exactly it is, mostly derived from one's own, necessarily limited scope.

Witzel explains the peculiarities of indological textual criticism by supposing that Vedic criticism, which did not need or use many manuscripts, came first and that later editors forgot to adapt the method to other types of texts:[145]

> In order to understand this anachronous situation today, nearly 200 years after Lachmann, it is necessary to observe that editors of the great Vedic editions of the 19th century, such as Müller, Benfey, Aufrecht, Weber, Roth-Whitney, Schroeder, etc., were no doubt influenced by their knowledge of the strong underlying oral transmission of the Vedic texts, which made the use of many MSS superfluous: the MSS had, barring a few writing mistakes,

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145 Witzel: *Textual criticism in Indology*, p. 53.

> the same text, and the variants hardly counted. Thus Max Müller's *Ṛgveda* edition basically is a reprint of the MSS (with very few, so far not seriously investigated variations). It is, as we used to joke as students, "a good edition of Sāyaṇa('s commentary)". However, even among the Vedic texts this does not obtain for texts that do not rely on as broad a geographical basis as the *Ṛgveda*, such as the MS (Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā), KS, JB, VādhB, etc.
>
> However this does not explain why the 19th century editors proceeded in the same way, without stemmas, for non-Vedic texts well after Lachmann's stemmatic method had gained acceptance in other fields.

In other words, according to Witzel, for the editors of the Veda the process of *recensio*, collecting and analyzing all sources, was almost dispensable, since there was only one oral text, give or take a few writing mistakes. The indological problem, according to Witzel, was that later generations continued with this method, although their text transmissions were entirely different. This explanation of matters may appear sound, but has its own flaws, visible already in the fact that Müller does not adduce the orality of the *Ṛgveda*. If we want to see how such an argumentation would look like, we only need to read a book that appeared also in Oxford only few decades later, namely Grierson and Barnett's edition of the sayings of the Kashmirian Saint Lallā, which are based on an oral text as well as on a differing written version. Grierson called this record "in some respects more valuable than any written manuscript".[146] Most importantly the oral and the written version are edited separately!

Müller does not say that he is taking into account an oral tradition. He explicitly says that he is following the method of (amongst others) Lachmann. And even worse, he is probably right.

But let us start with the basics. Every Sanskritist knows and every student hears about the *Ṛgveda* having been memorized by heart for thousands of years by an elaborate method that safeguarded its textual integrity. As a result the Vedic recitation up to modernity preserved the text of the oldest Indian literary document without change. According to our textbooks, a large

[146] *Lallâ-vâkyâni*. Ed. George Grierson and Lionel Barnett. London 1920, p. 5.

number of linguistic studies has proved this and it is taken as an established fact in Indology. I was also brought up to believe that while we may use textual criticism for all sorts of texts, the Veda is beyond that, simply because there are no variants. We read as much in Jan Gonda's standard handbook on *Vedic Literature* in his *History of Indian Literature*: "[. . .] the text of the Ṛgveda has for many centuries remained unaltered—there are no variants [. . .]"[147] For this statement he refers to the preface to the edition of the Ṛgveda by Max Müller and other scholars have since reiterated this. The latest, more popular restatement of the same is perhaps the following: "The entire corpus was preserved orally with razor-sharp precision for three millennia, as if it had been engraved in the neurons of Brahman families committed to reciting and preserving it."[148]

Of course, for a non-Vedicist used to reading non-Vedic Indian manuscripts this is *a priori* hard to believe. Here I am refraining from wandering into more theoretical, or even polemical avenues, and have therefore excluded the uninformed or absurd,[149] but one such remark may be permitted. The claim that textual criticism is inappropriate or has no scope is usually applied to texts with a divine status. From the insider's point of view such texts are often not transmitted but revealed and therefore there is at least an unease when it comes to variants. For when the revealed text is conceived of as a source of correct knowledge beyond the scope of others (*āgama* as a *pramāṇa* beyond the others), there is not much space for logical arguments about the correct reading. Here East and West, again, do not differ.

As a result there is a marked tendency to claim a variant-free transmission for religious texts. To give another example:[150]

> The most remarkable example of religiously motivated, and tightly controlled, text-reproduction in pre-modern India is of-

[147] Wiesbaden 1975, p. 18. Many other similar quotations could be adduced. [148] David Shulman: "At the Heart of Hinduism". In: *The New York Review of Books* LXII.1. [149] A combination of both can be found in the writings of Vishwa Adluri and Joydeep Bagchee, who think that textual criticism is "mechanical", whereas the related "historical criticism" is "pseudo-critical" and "anti-semitic". *The Real Threat to the Humanities Today: Andrew Nicholson, The Nay Science, and the Future of Philology*. Publication on academia.edu, p. 2. [150] Sheldon Pollock: "Literary Culture and Manuscript Culture in Precolonial India". In: Simon Eliot et al.: *Literary Cultures and the Material Book*. The British Library 2007, p. 88.

> fered by the Bangla-language Caitanya-caritamrta (Immortal Deeds of Caitanya) of Krsnadasa Kaviraj, a poetic biography of the religious reformer Caitanya (died c. 1533), composed around 1600, not in Bengal, but far to the west in Vrindavan, an important sacred centre of Vaishnavism. This is one of the most often reproduced texts in the history of Indian manuscript culture, now existing in more than two thousand copies—virtually identical copies. There is none of Eisenstein's 'textual drift' here [. . .]

I find it hard to believe that firstly this is the case and secondly that anyone could have possibly ascertained the fact through a quick check of all 2000 manuscripts. But the interesting question would be, how one could safeguard a text in that way.

Let us pretend that the critical edition of the *Ṛgveda* is just a normal critical edition. Its history is connected with two scholars with interesting, but accidental biographical similarities. The first editor was Friedrich Rosen, a young and gifted German scholar who studied in Berlin, moved to Paris and then took up the chair for modern oriental languages in London. He did not apply for the Boden Sanskrit chair in Oxford because of its religious orientation. He must have been an interesting figure, but not much is known about him. Rosen's pioneering attempt to edit the *Ṛgveda* was published posthumously in 1838. His premature death prevented not only the completion of his endeavour, but also the publication of his notes on the text. What we have is a fragmentary edition with Latin translation, a remarkable work at a time when many scholars still thought that the Veda contained the original monistic religion of India. Rosen had merely two manuscripts at his disposal.

The next editor, Max Müller, was also German, studied in Leipzig, moved to Paris, and then to England. He did apply to the Oxford Sanskrit chair, was according to all we know the best candidate, but did not get it for the same religious reasons.[151] When Max Müller made a new attempt at editing the *Ṛgveda*, he described his method as follows:[152]

[151] See RICHARD GOMBRICH: *On Being Sanskritic. A Plea for Civilized Study and the Study of Civilization*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1978. [152] *Rig-Veda-Samhita. The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans together with the Commentary of Sayanacharya*. Ed. MAX MÜLLER. Vol. 1. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1849, p. ix.

> My principal object in this present edition is therefore to give a correct text of the Rig-veda, and to restore from the MSS. a readable and authentic text of Sāyaṇa's commentary. The former was by far the easier task. The MSS. of the Rig-veda have generally been written and corrected by Brāhmans with so much care that there are no various readings in the proper sense of the word, except those few which are found noticed as such in the commentaries or in the Prātiśākhyas. Even these are generally of small importance, and seldom affect the meaning of a sentence.

One needs to let this information sink in for some time. Müller concluded from the lack of variants in his manuscripts that they had been corrected and thus presented the correct text. After rereading his introduction a few times, I had the impression that Müller's textual criticism of the *Ṛgveda* is a topsy-turvy world, not unlike the one Alice encounters in the novel of his Oxford colleague Lewis Carrol. In this world the correct text is not something to be established, it is established before textual criticism begins, not despite, but because of the intervention of later generations of transmitters. In other words, everything we have learned from textual criticism is valued differently here. Whereas Lachmann could have excluded all of Müller's manuscripts as contaminated on suspicion that later scribes had corrected them, here Brahmins as guardians of the text have a completely different role. Of course, the *Ṛgveda*, when seen as oral literature may be a special case, but neither does Müller argue that it is, nor are his sources based on recordings or direct intervention of Pandits; he is still editing a text from manuscripts, and the extent to which normal rules of textual criticism are cancelled, is remarkable.

If we view this world from our normal coordinates, we find potential problems in Müller's approach. Whereas Rosen used two manuscripts, Müller used three (plus two for the Pada-text), surely not an impressive coverage of potential variant bearers. Any further collation of sources he considers superfluous and argues:

> It was not necessary for an editor of the Rig-veda to collate a greater number of MSS., or to classify them according to their age and origin. I have seen nearly all the MSS. of the Rigveda

> which exist in Europe, and I feel convinced that no use can be derived from them as manuscripts, because all of them are but transcripts, more or less carefully executed, of one and the same text.

Of course, this could still be true, although one or two checks of materials that may not share an ancestor would have been reassuring. We should also be told, why we cannot apply the principle to other texts. If we select few enough manuscripts of a text of Kālidāsa and think that we in any case know what he meant, we can surely dispense with most of textual criticism. Phrased in this way, it is hardly short of the kind of text-critical madness as diagnosed by his Cambridge colleague Housman, which we shall discuss shortly.[153]

Müller also adduces as an additional argument for his approach the first edition of Rosen, which only serves to make things worse. He says that it was for that same reason that Rosen in his first edition did not add an apparatus. This argument is invalid, because at the time of Rosen, many editors did not publish a collation of variants. It was a contemporary of Rosen, Christian Lassen, who first criticized this practice in Indology. But Müller here twists the argument, for he knew that Rosen's work appeared only after his premature death and that most of his notes were never printed.[154]

So in effect all is based on the notion that the Brahmins were the true transmitters of the Veda, and that their knowledge of the correct text went

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[153] Max Müller, for instance, thought that the edition of the *Hitopadeśa* by Schlegel and Lassen was ecclectic and that they should have used one manuscript as the basis. See the Review by N. Delius in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 7 (1850), p. 231. [154] Lassen, when reporting on Rosen's work in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 3 (1840), p. 471f., says that he had seen Rosen's papers, which contained a collation of variants from manuscripts not used for the edition. Lassen in general may be the first to have stated that the Veda has no true variants. He says: "Es kommen nämlich kaum wirkliche Varianten vor." (ibid., p. 472). Later he states after saying that the variants are mostly writing mistakes: "somit erklärt es sich hinreichend, dass auch die Hymnen, trotz ihrer Heiligkeit, keineswegs von Schreibfehlern frei geblieben sind. In der That sind die meisten Varianten, die mir vorliegen, dieser Art. Bei der grossen Anzahl von Handschriften, der Ausführlichkeit der Scholien und den vielen Ausführungen der Veda-Stellen in grammatischen und anderen Büchern sind jedoch diese Fehler unschwer zu beseitigen. Man sieht zugleich, dass solche Abweichungen der Authenticität der alten Texte keinen Eintrag thun können und dass ein gewissenhafter und so reich ausgerüsteter Herausgeber, wie Rosen, sich die Berechtigung geben durfte, solche Varianten nach sicherer Herstellung des Richtigen mit Stillschweigen zu übergehen, wenn dieses, wie ich vermuthe, seine Absicht war." (ibid., p. 473).

beyond manuscript evidence. I am of course not arguing against this theory of oral transmission. But one tends to forget that Müller's edition is not based on such a theory of Vedic orality, but on a very peculiar understanding of textual criticism. This is made clear when he comes to his edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary:

> For the first Ashṭaka I had twelve MSS. However, we have learnt from Greek and Latin philology that a great number of MSS. is not at all desirable for critical purposes. In most cases those numerous MSS. which have been collated for classical authors have only served to spoil the text; to make the reading of doubtful passages still more doubtful; and to give rise to a mass of conjectural readings, based either upon authority of the transcriber of a MS., or upon that of an ingenious editor. In this manner an immense deal of labour has been wasted in classical philology; so that now, after the simple rules for using MSS. have been laid down by a new school of critical philologers, such as Bekker, Dindorf, Lachmann, and others, almost all the old editions of classical authors have become useless for criticial purposes, with the exception of some of the *editiones principes*, which, as they simply reproduced one MS., though generally a very bad one, can claim for themselves at least a certain degree of authenticity. (Vol. 1, p. xix–xv.)

Müller had found this conviction already in 1844 after two years of, as he says, Sanskrit study in his leasure time,[155] when he translated the *Hitopadeśa* into German. Although the work clearly shows that Müller's knowledge of Sanskrit was not up to the task,[156] he criticizes the editors Schlegel and Lassen for producing an eclectic text instead of sticking to one manuscript.[157] While his knowledge of Sanskrit seems much improved in his edition of the *Hitopadeśa* some decades later in England, his text-critical convictions remain unchanged. He dismissed the text of Schlegel in favour of an uncritical Indian print of 1830. In the introduction we read:[158]

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[155] Thus in a letter to A. W. Schlegel of May 1844. [156] Nicolaus Delius in his review in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 7 (1850), p. 230–244, lists his translation mistakes. [157] *Hitopadesa. Eine altindische Fabelsammlung aus dem Sanskrit zum ersten Male in das Deutsche übersetzt von Max Müller.* Leipzig 1844. [158] *The First Book of the Hitopadeśa.* London 1864, p. vii.

> That text was chosen as an authority, partly because it was desirable to have, as far as possible, the same text in the examinations in India and England, partly because an eclectic text, even one so carefully elaborated as that of Schlegel and Lassen, seemed to be incompatible with those principles of diplomatic criticism which are now adopted by all sound scholars, not only in Greek and Latin, but likewise in Sanskrit and Oriental literature. No attempt has yet been made to arrange the numerous MSS. of the Hitopadeśa genealogically, and there is hardly another work with which each copyist has ventured to take such liberties as with this, the most popular story-book of India. Until MSS. have been genealogically arranged, a selection of certain plausible readings from this or that MS. is worse than useless. In my translation of the Hitopadeśa, published in the year 1844, I pointed out that an eclectic restoration of the text, even if carried out by men of taste and profound scholarship, could never satisfy the demands of modern criticism. As the labour of collating and classifying the MSS. of the Hitopadeśa would have been very great, and as, owing to the nature of this popular work, the result would always have been problematical, I determined to make no attempt at a critical restoration of the text, but to adhere throughout to one native authority.

The critique is particularly inept in this work, where Müller has changed the text of his single source – as he says – for reasons of grammar and »decency«.

Müller's text-critical ideas coincide with the observation that Lachmannians often merely tried to reduce their sources in order to keep it simple. This has by the way not much to do with what we today understand as the method of Lachmann. The danger involved in this method of such a rapid and convenient exclusion of witnesses is that one is likely to misjudge their value.

In indological editing one further complication arises through the variety of scripts employed in the transmission of Sanskrit texts. Müller has not heeded one of the rules of Sanskritic textual criticism, to use not just De-

vanāgarī manuscripts.[159] Regularly manuscripts in local scripts transmit local recensions and a proper *recensio* is incomplete as long as one limits oneself to Nāgarī sources. Of course, Müller is not to blame for the fact that there were so few manuscripts of the *Ṛgveda* accessible to him in Europe.

But when his colleague Georg Bühler, who was travelling India in search of manuscripts, found what is considered one of the oldest Vedic manuscripts, he thought it useful to alert Max Müller to his findings:[160]

> In the portions which I have compared with Prof. M. Müller's printed text, I have not found any readings which I should like to declare to be real *variae lectiones* [. . .] But, quite irrespective of the questions of various readings, there are in the Ṛigveda a number of passages which the collated Indian MSS. leave doubtful, be it on account of the peculiarities of Devanâgarī characters or for other reasons. It is for such cases that I hope the MS. will prove particularly valuable [. . .]

This manuscript deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is—since it is the oldest known manuscript of the oldest Indian text—listed as an UNESCO treasure and it is stated on the website of the Institute that this ms. was used for the famous edition of the *Ṛgveda* of Max Müller, which is what should have been done. The actual course of events was different.

Bühler's optimism—based on protracted experience with Śāradā manuscripts—was thwarted by Müller, who perhaps did not read Śāradā, relied on a collation by Dr. Wenzel and dismissed the manuscript summarily:[161]

> A ms. of the Ṛgv. was discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kashmir. It was written on birch-bark and in the Śāradā alphabet. As it seemed to be of some importance Dr. Bühler kindly had it forwarded to me. A collation made by Dr. Wenzel showed, however, that the Ms.

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[159] Actually in his edition the script is not stated, but it is understood that all his Veda manuscripts are in Devanāgarī. He seems to mention the script only when a manuscript is *not* written in Devanāgarī. One manuscript of the commentary (C6) is in Bengali characters. [160] Georg Bühler: *Detailed report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Mss. made in Kásmîr, Rajputana, and Central India*, p. 35. [161] Preface to Vol. 3, p. 26. Quoted in I. Scheftelowitz: *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda (Khilāni)*. Breslau 1906, p. 35.

> contained no independent readings, and that it had by no means been carefully copied.

I am afraid that the argumentation is simply not up to any text-critical standard: In which sense do variant readings have to be "independent" to matter? First we were told that there are no variants, now there are variants, but they do not matter, because the manuscript has not been carefully copied? What we might diagnose here is a lack of acquaintance with Indian manuscripts, or a general unwillingness to take new evidence into account, which by the way is a well-known complication of textual criticism. Müller has in the same way discarded the evidence of South Indian manuscripts through checks made with collations by colleagues, and one gets the impression that he did not want to complicate his work with these new materials and tried all sorts of arguments to ward them off. For instance, he says that there was one Grantha manuscript that did contain "a few independent various readings, such as are found in all MSS., and owe their origin clearly to the jottings of individual students."[162] While it is quite understandable that such a large work would have been considerably delayed, if not made impossible if the manuscript base had been extended, Müller tries to shut his eyes in the face of the variation found in manuscripts. He uses a simple rhetorical trick to deny that these are variants in the real sense of the word, with the hope that readers would not notice. The unnamed critics he responds to[163] were apparently not content, but the indological "opinio communis" about the variant-free *Ṛgveda*, as documented above, has almost blindly followed Müller. Here is Müller's philosophy of the Vedic variant:

> As far as we are able to judge at present, we can hardly speak of various readings in the Vedic hymns, in the usual sense of that word. Various readings to be gathered from a collation of different MSS., now accessible to us, there are none. After collating a considerable number of MSS., I have succeeded, I believe, in

[162] Max Müller: *Vedic Hymns*. (Sacred Books of the East 32). Oxford 1891, p. 31f. [163] "The critical principles by which I have been guided in editing for the first time the text of the Rig-veda, require a few words of explanation, as they have lately been challenged on grounds which, I think, rest on a complete misapprehension of my previous statements on this subject." Max Müller: *Vedic Hymns*, p. 43.

> fixing on three representative MSS., as described in the preface to the first volume of my edition of the Rig-veda. Even these MSS. are not free from blunders,—for what MS. is?—but these blunders have no claim to the title of various readings. They are lapsus calami, and no more; and, what is important, they have not become traditional.

Here finally we have arrived at real textual criticism, for the examples Müller gives are more than telling. He says in the foonote: "Thus X, 101, 2, one of the Pada MSS. (P2) reads distinctly yagñám prá k*ri*nuta sakhâyah, but all the other MSS. have nayata, and there can be little doubt that it was the frequent repetition of the verb k*ri* in this verse which led the writer to substitute k*ri*nuta for nayata. No other MS., as far as I am aware, repeats this blunder." This and the following examples hidden in this footnote show that there were indeed variants even in the few manuscripts used by Müller, where he established the text by text critical reasoning, while at the same time claiming that there were no variants. And when these variants were becoming too threatening, he introduced the absurd category of a "traditional" variant and argues with what "all the other manuscripts" read and that there are readings "no other manuscript" transmits. But let us recall that the total number of manuscripts used is very small and the "tradition" invoked here is just the European based *mokṣamūlaraśākhā* he takes as the final word in editing.

Coming back to the Kashmirian birch-bark manuscript, perhaps Bühler was not too happy with the decision, in any case he forwarded the manuscript to a scholar who took more care to analyse it: Isidor Scheftelowitz[164] closely examined the manuscript in his work on the Khilas of the *Ṛgveda*, and criticized Müller for excluding that source:[165]

> Müller's derogatory verdict on the Kashmir ms., which is based on the deficient extract prepared by Dr. Wenzel, is unfounded. If Müller had merely checked himself the 11 so-called Vālakhilyās, which he gives as an example for the character of this ms., and

[164] The following passage has been brought to my attention by my colleague Walter Slaje.
[165] I. Scheftelowitz: *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda (Khilāni)*. Breslau 1906, p. 35.

> not relied on Wenzel, he would surely have arrived at exactly the opposite verdict.[166]

Scheftelowitz had seen Wenzel's transcript, which was "hasty, because he probably never thought of publishing it."[167] Providing readings as proof for this, he explains that what Müller had interpreted as a case of bad copying, was actually the reader's insufficient grasp of the Śāradā script as well as a lack of proficiency with typical orthographical errors. He says that the errors of this manuscript are easily spotted and belong more to its graphical peculiarities.[168] For instance, an expert on Śāradā would not be too distracted by a misreading *sávam* for *sárvam*, because Śāradā *ba* is hardly distinguishable from *rva*. If one adds the insecurity of scribes about *va* and *ba* the mistake is easy to explain.[169] Scheftelowitz also noted that the manuscript transmits part of the *Aitareyāraṇyaka*, where it has variants.[170]

A Sanskrit editor with some experience in editing would not have dismissed an old Śāradā manuscript so blithely. Scheftelowitz' approach to textual criticism strikes one as absolutely sound. Furthermore, the idea that the *Ṛgveda* transmission was intact, since every Pandit could correct the manuscript from the version he had memorized, receives a slight blow, when Scheftelowitz says that the scribe did not write from memory, but copied from a Śāradā archetype.[171] In this respect the observation by Haug that Pandits started correcting their own *Ṛgveda* manuscripts with the help of Müller's edition makes one rather desperate.

The reviewer of Scheftelowitz' book, A. B. Keith, was quite aware of the spectacular findings and calls it "a unique MS. discovered by Bühler in the course of his famous tour of Kashmir. Although that MS. was sent to England for the use of Max Müller, it was not employed in constituting the text of the Khilas of the *Ṛgveda*, and unfortunately was not available to Oldenberg

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[166] "Doch Müllers abfälliges Urteil über die Kaśmir-Handschrift, welches sich auf einen ungenügenden Auszug des Dr. Wenzel stützt, ist unberechtigt. Hätte Müller nur diese 11 sogenannten Vālakhilyās, deren Lesarten er als ein Beispiel von dem Charakter dieser Handschrift anführt, selbst nachgeprüft und sich nicht auf Wenzel verlassen, so würde er sicherlich gerade zum entgegengesetzten Resultat gelangt sein." [167] Op. cit., p. 176. [168] Op. cit., p. 36. [169] Op. cit., p. 46. [170] Op. cit., p. 46. [171] "Der Schreiber dieses Kaśmir-Ms. hat den ṚV. oder die Khilāni nicht aus dem Gedächtnis niedergeschrieben, sondern ihm lag ebenfalls ein im Śāradā-Alphabet geschriebener Text vor, was mit Deutlichkeit aus verschiedenen Schreibfehlern hervorgeht." Op. cit., p. 47.

when he discussed in his *Prolegomena* the Khilas. Luckily a transcript of the Khilas by the late Dr. Wenzel came into the hands of Professor Macdonell, and was used with important results in constituting the text of the Bṛhaddevatā [. . .]"[172] Macdonell, in the introduction to his edition,[173] describes how he by chance came into possession of Wenzel's notebook containing his transcript of the manuscript, when he met Leumann in 1902 in Hamburg at an Orientalist conference. His estimate is quite different from the one by Müller: "It has proved of utmost service, since it has saved me from several mistakes, besides giving certainty in various passages where all would otherwise have been conjecture."[174]

It is to the credit of Scheftelowitz, who was supported by Hillebrandt,[175] not to have given in. The following year he published an article, in which he tried to spell out the results of his text-critical studies[176] and listed alternative and better readings from "Bühler's" manuscript. For a comparatively young scholar without a university position to demonstrate that Müller and the larger part of the Vedic scholars had not only ignored the oldest Veda manuscript, but were wrong in methodically excluding its readings, was quite daring. We would want to think that this could not happen nowadays, but actually the peer review system governing many journals could have easily prevented such a publication. And of course it did not do Scheftelowitz much good. After publishing the two interesting analyses of the Pune *Ṛgveda* manuscript in 1906 and 1907, he did not remain in the University, but worked as a Rabbi in Cologne from 1908 onwards. When the university of Cologne was founded, he became the first teacher, but only as an unsalaried "Honorarprofessor", in "Indo-Germanic Philology". In the year 1933, when the Nazis rose to power, he was barred from lecturing, with the ban on Jewish scholars his *venia legendi* was eventually rescinded, and he narrowly escaped with his family to England in 1934, received a position in Oxford, but died in the same year.

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[172] In JRAS 1907, p. 224–229. [173] Arthur Anthony Macdonell: *The Bṛhad-Devatā attributed to Śaunaka*. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1904, p. xxxi. [174] Op. cit., p. xxxi. Although, as Scheftelowitz has shown in his review (ZDMG 59, p. 420ff.), his ignorance of the Khilas has led him to unnecessary emendations. The most recent critical edition on a broader manuscripts base is Muneo Tokunaga: *The Bṛhaddevatā*. Kyoto 1997. [175] Scheftelowitz: *Apokryphen*, p. 176. [176] "Zur Textkritik und Lautlehre des Ṛgveda." In: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 21 (1907), p. 85–142.

For Vedic Studies the issue of variant readings had long been put to rest. Müller himself had written that he did not anticipate that "the text, as restored by me from a collation of the best MSS. accessible in Europe, will ever be materially shaken" and that "our text of the Veda is better authenticated, and supported by a more perfect apparatus criticus, than the text of any Greek or Latin author, and I do not think that diplomatic criticism can ever go beyond what has been achieved in the constitution of the text of the Vedic hymns."[177]

Then Oldenberg had already in his *Prolegomena*[178] formulated the rule that even Vedic parallels, as variants in the Sāmaveda, should only be considered if all else fails, otherwise there should be "a categorial presumption for the readings transmitted in the *Ṛgveda* or those conjectured from them".[179] Here Oldenberg already walks a fine line. The stricture that the "text of the Ṛgveda" is in fact the one edited by Max Müller from few Devanāgarī manuscripts, and that additional evidence is a priori inferior is absurd and can only be explained by the fact that so much manpower had gone into this text, its explanation, and conjecture. It seems the last thing the Vedicist establishment wanted to hear was about variants of a newly discovered manuscript not only in a regional script, but also much older than the sources surveyed before. So when Scheftelowitz presented his findings two decades after Oldenberg's pronouncement, Oldenberg promptly dismissed *all* Vedic variants as useless:[180]

> My long-held conviction (Prolegomena 271 ff.) about the more than modest value—to be exact the near uselessness—of the

[177] Max Müller: *Vedic Hymns*, p. 45. [178] Hermann Oldenberg: *Metrische und Textgeschichtliche Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Rigveda-Ausgabe*. Berlin 1888. [179] "[...] die Präsumtion unbedingt für die im Ṛv. überlieferte resp. für eine von dieser aus durch Conjektur zu findende Textgestalt spricht." Op. cit., p. 289f. [180] Hermann Oldenberg: *Ṛgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten. Erstes bis sechstes Buch*. Berlin 1909, p. IV.: "Meine längst ausgesprochene Ueberzeugung (Prolegomena 271 ff.) von dem mehr als bescheidenen Wert – richtiger der annähernden Wertlosigkeit – der gesamten Variantenmasse der vedischen Paralleltexte hat sich mir im Lauf der Arbeit durchweg auf das entschiedenste bestätigt. Ludwig's Behandlung des Problems ("Ueber die Kritik des Rgveda-Textes", Abb. d. böhm. Ges. d. W., VII. Folge, Bd. 3, Prag 1889) konnte mich darin nicht wankend machen, die vortreffliche Uebersicht über die Materialien, die jetzt Bloomfield's Konkordanz gibt, mich darin nur bestärken. Was von diesen Varianten gilt, gilt natürlich auch von denen der kaschmirischen Handschrift, über die wir neuerdings durch Scheftelowitz ("Apokryphen des Ṛgveda" und WZKM 21, 85 ff.) näher unterrichtet sind."

> whole mass of variants of Vedic parallels has been confirmed in the course of my work in the most decisive manner. Ludwig's treatment of the problem [. . .] could not make me falter in this, the excellent overview on materials, which is now available in Bloomfield's concordance, has only confirmed me in this. The same holds true of course for variants of the Kashmirian ms., about which we have been recently informed through Scheftelowitz ("Apokryphen des Ṛgveda" and WZKM 21, 85 ff.).

In the same context, Oldenberg speaks of a persistent inferiority ("durchgehenden Inferiorität" p. V) of the Śāradā manuscript. The problem here is not that one might with good arguments discard a reading of the Śāradā manuscript as a *lectio facilior*. The problem is that this cannot be done summarily, by pointing to the general impression of the oldest manuscript being "bad".

Before continuing, I shall give as an example Scheftelowitz' first variant. In *Ṛgveda* 1.4.6 the standard text reads *utá naḥ subhágāṃ arír vocéyur dasma kṛṣṭáyaḥ syā́méd índrasya śármaṇi*. In the most recent translation by Jamison and Brereton[181] this reads as:

> 6. But (even) a stranger—(indeed all) the separate peoples—would say we have a good portion, o wondrous one. (For) we would be in the protection of Indra alone.

There are many other interpretations which differ especially in the rendering of *ari*, which has been interpreted as "Sippenangehöriger" (Witzel), "Fremder" (Thieme), or "Standesherr" (Geldner).[182] The obvious problem is that we have a singular subject as well as a plural one, not connected by "and", but that these have to be construed with a plural verb. Of course, it is difficult to say, whether this is a problem, or a feature of the Vedic language. The reading is confirmed by the commentators, but also the unease with the incongruence: Sāyaṇa glosses *arir uta* as *śatravo 'pi* and also Skandasvāmin and Veṅkaṭamādhava comment on the problem,[183] for the former the singular

[181] Stephanie W. Jamison and Joel P. Brereton: *The Rigveda. The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. New York 2014, p. 93. [182] For an overview, see Michael Witzel and Toshifumi Gotō: *Rig-Veda. Das Heilige Wissen. Erster und zweiter Liederkreis*. Frankfurt 2007, p. 491. [183] *Ṛgveda*. Ed. Vishva Bandhu. Hoshiarpur 1965, p. 27f.

is used for, or substituted for plural (*vyatyayena caikavacanam*), the latter devotes half of his brief commentary on the problem to explain that there is congruence. What else can one do if that is the text.

Here Scheftelowitz comes up with a different solution from "his" manuscript, from the background of which he states that construing the text of Müller is "quite impossible":

> 1,4,6 *abhí voceyuḥ*, M[ax]M[üller] *arír vocéyuḥ*, doch ist *arír* ganz unmöglich, da ja das Substantiv, worauf es sich beziehen könnte, N. pl. f. *kr̥ṣṭayaḥ* ist.[184]

This reading would have been worth considering, but since all experts had already proposed solutions,[185] the susceptibility for a new reading was low. The reading of the older manuscript analysed by Scheftelowitz apparently came too late. His fresh look at the readings had to compete with elaborate justifications of what now became a canonised *lectio difficilior*. In 1909 Oldenberg, when dealing with the passage, said that he wanted to keep to the text as transmitted,[186] without even mentioning the alternative reading. Since he refers exclusively to works produced before the publication of Scheftelowitz as justification,[187] his adherence to the status quo without serious consideration is unsound.

So what about later Indian editions of the *R̥gveda*, which were based on more manuscripts as well as on scholars who had memorized the text, the often invoked oral tradition of the text: For instance, there was an extensive effort to produce a new edition of the text[188] involving—as it is stated in the introduction—a team of ten (Mahārāṣṭrian) Vaidikāḥ, of Śāstrins,

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[184] "Zur Textkritik und Lautlehre des R̥gveda." In: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 21 (1907), p. 85. [185] Max Müller refers to the problem without mentioning the variant in his *Vedic Hymns* (Sacred Books of the East 32), p. xli. Already Rosen wanted to solve the problem by declaring *ariḥ* a plural: "possitne ari*h* pluralis esse contracta terminatione, pro araya*h*?".
[186] "[. . .] halte ich am Ueberlieferten fest". *R̥gveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, p. 4.
[187] Pischel in ZDMG 40, Pischel and Geldner in *Vedische Studien* 3 and Oldenberg in ZDMG 54.
[188] *R̥gveda-Saṃhitā*. Sāntabalekarakulajena Dāmodarabhaṭṭasūnunā Śrīpādaśarmaṇa saṃpāditā. Aundh saṃ 1994. The details are given in the "Prastāvaḥ", p. 3ff. I am grateful to Shrikant Bahulkar for pointing me to this edition. The name of the author is—without Sanskritisation—spelled Sātavaḷekara.

Saṃśodhakas and Adhyāpakas. We can therefore assume that the oral tradition available at the time was duly considered.

Under the heading "Ādarśa-granthāḥ" the editor lists his sources. He starts with the edition of Max Müller, which he says was printed very correctly and free of faults.[189] He makes this text the basis of his edition.[190] Next follow "some manuscripts" from a variety of places, but there is no listing of individual manuscripts and the number itself remains unclear.[191] The editor then says that he first took the edition of *mokṣamūlarabhaṭṭa*, to which so many scholars had contributed, as the final word on the constitution of the text (*antimapramāṇatvena svīkr̥tam*), but in the course of editing several errors and misprints became obvious.[192]

The editor then criticizes two misreadings of Müller: Firstly, he writes consistently—there are six passages—*syandra* for the correct *spandra*. Furthermore, he writes *mathnā* for *mathrā* in 1.181.5. The editor says that Bloomfield in his *Vedic Concordance* as well as Wilson in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary have this form of the word and expresses his confusion, but then accepts what all his other sources—oral and handwritten—transmitted.[193] Sāntabalekar devotes considerable space in his brief introduction to this error of Max Müller and cannot enough wonder how this could happen.[194] But

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[189] *[. . .]r̥gvedapustakaṃ atīvapariśuddhaṃ samīcīnatayā mudritaṃ ceti.* [190] *asya pustakasya prathamaṃ dvitīyaṃ ca saṃskaraṇadvayam atra ādarśarūpatvenāsmābhiḥ svīkr̥tam*, op. cit., p. 5.
[191] And we may add that the sentence is far from clear: *likhiteṣu katipayeṣu [. . .] varṣaśatakāt pūrvaṃ likhitāni pustakāni [. . .]* [192] *parantu yathā yathā svādhyāyamaṇḍale r̥gvedasaṃśodhanaṃ mudraṇaṃ ca prāvartata, tathā tathā tatrāpi paṃ[=paṇḍita] mokṣamullarīye pustake katipayāni skhalitāni, katipaye ca mudraṇadoṣāḥ, katipayāny akṣarāṇi mudraṇayantravegavaśāt truṭitāni ca santīti suspaṣṭam abhūt /* [193] *yauropīyā bhaṭṭamokṣamullarāḥ, amerikā-pātālavāsino bhaṭṭablūmaphīlḍāḥ, gīrvāṇāṅglakośakārāḥ vilasanāḥ ete sarve 'pi vedasaṃśodhanakarmaṇi kuśalatamāḥ kathaṃ nāmaivaṃ pramādyeyur iti manasy asmākaṃ mahān saṃdehaḥ prathamaṃ saṃjātaḥ / sarvāṇy eva vaidikānāṃ hastalikhitāni, sarvāṇi vaidikair mudritāni ca r̥gvedapustakāni ca r̥gvedapustakāni khalv aikamatyena 'spandra' ity eva pāṭham urarīkurvanti, naikam api vaidikasya pustakaṃ 'syandra' iti pāṭhaṃ svīkarotīti paśyanto, nūnaṃ vayaṃ jānīmāḥ 'syandra' iti pāṭho na samyag asti /* [194] *vaidikānāṃ pustakeṣu vaidikānāṃ paṭhanapāṭhanaparamparāsu ca 'syandra' iti pāṭhasyābhāvāt, 'spandra' ity asya sadbhāvāc ca, 'syandra' iti bhaṭṭamokṣamullarādibhir abhimataḥ pāṭhaḥ sarvathā aśuddho 'avaidika 'papāṭha iti nāsty atra sandehaḥ / vidvadvariṣṭhair bhaṭṭamokṣamullaraiḥ kathaṃ nāma so 'papāṭhaḥ svīkr̥taḥ itīdānīṃ naiva jñātuṃ śakyate /*—Surely this is not too difficult to explain, and as if to prove the point, the passage just quoted itself contains a misprint, namely the garbled ligature *nātsyatra* instead of *nāstyatra*.

here he falls prey to the wide-spread Indian perception of Max Müller as the pinnacle of German indological scholarship, whereas in fact he was merely the only "German" indologist who wrote from England, in English and whose works were available in India. Apart from this peculiar status one should not forget that the edition of the *Ṛgveda* was Max Müller's first editorial work and the case is no more than a simple and paleographically understandable misreading of his Nāgarī manuscripts.

The editor then states that there is only one real variant in the whole text.[195] In this case for his edition he accepts the reading agreed upon by most.[196] Then he states:

> In the whole Ṛgveda there is no other instance of a variant reading – all *vaidikas* are unanimous about this.
>
> *saṃpūrṇa ṛgvede nānyaḥ ko 'pi pāṭhabhedo vartate iti sarvair vaidikair aikyamatyena manyate.*[197]

Formulated in this manner it does not address the question. There may not be variant readings that "*vaidikas*" would take seriously, but there may still be variants. These we may assume were again not worth reporting.

For the unsuspecting reader it must be said that in recent years the intellectual climate for an academic study of the Veda in India has changed. Studies or editions now mainly serve religious purposes, whereas an academic context is only adduced, when it serves the religious one. In other words, the perspective of many sections of Vedic Studies have, fostered by the current political climate, changed into a kind of fundamentalist theology. As an example I shall adduce one publication[198] by the organisation for Vedic Studies that is directly financed and controlled by the central Indian government, founded as *Veda Vidya Pratishthan* "to preserve and protect the Vedic tradition".[199] The perspective of these publications has tangibly changed from that of many earlier Vedic Studies produced in India, which were more academic in outlook. In them a religious view of these texts as a valid revelation is mixed with

[195] In 7.44.3 *maṃś* versus *māṃś*. [196] *iti pāṭho bahusammataḥ*. Op. cit., p. 7. It is not clear whether this means most editions, manuscripts, or Vedic scholars. [197] Op. cit., p. 7. [198] *The Ṛgveda Saṁhitā of Śāṁkhyāyana-Śākhā*. Ed. Amal Dhari Singh Gautam. Ujjain 2012. [199] Op. cit., Preface, p. 1.

pseudo-scientific statements that have recently become extremely popular. Let me give one example from this publication:[200]

> Vedas are the earliest literary treasure of mankind. These are not composed but have been realized by seers in penance. So these are authentic, free from all blemishes and thus are the treasure-house of all true knowledge as also have been eulogized by foreign scholars.
>
> *They are the oldest of books in the library of mankind.*
>
> *The oldest literary monument of the Indo-European world.*

The same can be read in the Sanskrit introduction, but with a nationalistic undertone: *vedānāṃ kāraṇād eva asmākāṃ bhāratīyā saṃskṛtir asti viśvavārā viśvavandyā viśvavareṇyā.*[201] In other words, the perspective is theological and nationalistic. In order to underline the universalistic claim, distorted pieces from foreign scholars, usually only Max Müller, are adduced, but merely as proof that even the West has accepted the doctrines of Mīmāṃsā, the *apauruṣeyatva* and *svataḥprāmāṇya* of the Veda. Sound academic sources, whether Indian or non-Indian, are not, it seems, on the reading list. This new religious nationalism has of course been analysed and I shall not deal with it any further, but for our text-critical problem the question is whether it is likely that in this intellectual climate research scholars will be particularly open to the discovery of actual variants in manuscripts?

In the publication mentioned above unsurprisingly the same picture prevails. While it is based supposedly on a large number of manuscripts the editor says: *mantreṣu pāṭhabhedas tu na prāpyate.*[202] It is difficult for an outsider to Vedic studies like the present writer, without having seen many manuscripts of the text, to make sense of this situation. At least the three variants mentioned by Sāntabalekar—two misreadings of Müller and one true variant—should have been worth mentioning.

But the picture given by the Ujjain edition is the following: (1) *syandra*, supposed to be a misreading of Max Müller, occurs in this edition in 1.80.9. However, it reads *spandra* in 5.52.03, 5.52,8 and 5.87.3. In two instances, 6.12.5

[200] Op. cit., Preface, p. 1. [201] Op. cit., p. v. [202] Op. cit., p. xi.

and 10.42.5, it reads *syandra* in the text, and *spandra* in the Padapāṭha. (2) The case of *mathnā* is different, since that reading of Müller was already changed to *mathrā* in the edition of Aufrecht.[203] In 8.46.23 the Śāṅkhāyana edition reads *mathrā*, as does Aufrecht. In 1.181.5, where Aufrecht and Sāntabalekar read *mathrā*, it reads *manthā* in the text, but *mathnā* in the Padapāṭha.

We cannot leave the discussion here without briefly mentioning that European Vedicists had already dealt with these and other misprints of the *editio princeps* as well as with insecurities of readings. Sāntabalekar mentions just two misprints of Müller, whereas Aufrecht, who had access to merely a few manuscripts from the Chambers collection, identified a longer list of the blunders of "Herr Müller".[204] The polemical tone is not untypical in these days of the controversy on the interpretation of the Veda, and I shall give just a few passages in translation:

> I, 181, 5. mathnā Sāyaṇa, Colebrooke 129, Chambers 73 and Herr Müller. mathrā is read by Chambers 41 (pr[ima] m[anu] mathā) [. . .]
>
> VII, 35, 13 devagopāḥ. Herr Müller twice against manuscripts and grammar. [. . .]
>
> IX, 108, 7 all manuscripts read vanakraksham. Herr Müller has through his own unlimited powers ("Machtvollkommenheit") introduced a reading vanaṛiksham.

Among Vedicists the merit of individual readings had been already discussed, as for instance: "According to my assessment the inner probability as well as VIII, 46, 23 is strongly in favour of *mathrá*".[205]

Other errors or misreadings of Max Müller have escaped the attention of later editors. For instance, in 2.11.10 Müller reads *nijūrvīt*. Aufrecht says that all manuscripts and the commentator read *nijūrvāt*. The Ujjain edition reads *nijūrvīt*. So it seems that we do not even have to look at other manuscripts to get the impression that the notion of a variant-free Veda is not to be taken literally. Vedic criticism is far from being able to provide a text consistent

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[203] Theodor Aufrecht: *Die Hymnen des Ṛigveda*. 2 vols. Bonn 1877. [204] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 4f. [205] "M. E. spricht innere Wahrscheinlichkeit und VIII, 46, 23 entschieden für *mathrá*." Oldenberg: *Ṛgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, p. 180.

enough to warrant the claim that there are no variants. The "*Vaidikas*" may agree that there is no *pāṭhabheda*, but we know since Scheftelowitz that there are manuscript readings. So the common statement may mean no more than there is no *accepted* variance. But because of the dogma that there are no variants, it seems none could be reported and the claim, as in the Ujjain edition of the *Ṛgveda* that is supposedly based on 25 manuscripts, cannot be taken at face value. It seems that textual criticism of the Veda has been put to rest, before it could even start.

The a priori conviction of the uselessness of all variants is a strange type of eliminatio of all sorts of known and unknown manuscripts, and the declaration that conjectures based on the Devanāgarī manuscripts are superior to other readings is even worse than the text-critical blunder Bentley is often charged with, namely to blur the distinction between conjectures and transmitted readings. From the perspective of normal textual criticism it is as clear a case of editorial madness as those described by the famous Cambridge classical scholar Housman in his article "The application of thought to textual criticism".[206] There he makes the point that professed textual critics sometimes stop using their common sense and their ability to think, but follow blindly maxims and principles that do not stand to reason. One of the examples given by Housman is the case of an Italian scholar, whom he calls simply "Mr. Vallauri" or even merely "one Vallauri", I suppose it was the nineteenth-century classicist Tommaso Vallauri from Torino. Vallauri noticed that one of his theories was contradicted by a manuscript reading, but instead of remodelling his theory to fit the new evidence, he chose to ignore it altogether by stating that the manuscript was not trustworthy, since it was generally in a bad condition. This by the way referred only to its physical condition, the readings where they were legible were not in doubt, but Vallauri did not want this evidence to disturb his theory and thus decided that a manuscript so much "tattered and battered" did not deserve attention. The argumentation is not worth of serious academic consideration; old manuscripts tend not to look as neat as new ones and one would not stop quoting from a book, just because one has spilt one's morning coffee on it in a hurry. And

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[206] "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism". In: *The Classical Papers of A. E. Housman*. Collected and Edited by J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear. Cambridge: University Press 1972, p. 1061.

this is Housman's point: we do not need that much theory, just common sense to see that Vallauri was wrong.

My reason for referring to Housman is not because of one singular example, but because of Housman's résumé. For he claims that: "If you engage in textual criticism, you may come upon a second Mr Vallauri at any turn."[207] In my humble opinion Oldenberg can claim the same rank. He speaks of the persistent inferiority of the Kashmirian manuscript, which leads him to discard its evidence completely—clearly the error of the "best" versus the "bad" manuscript.

Unfortunately we are not so well-informed about Indian reactions to the edition of the *Ṛgveda* by Max Müller. According to one author there were resentments in Mahārāṣṭra. Müller himself reports that "attempts were made in various quarters to taboo it, as having been printed by a Mleccha [impure foreigner or barbarian] and with cow's blood."[208] In Pune it is reported that Brahmins still wanted to know the edition and had it read out by a non-Brahmin, so that no one had to touch it. It is unclear what to make of these anecdotes. But if another report should be true, that later on Pandits corrected their private manuscripts of the *Ṛgveda* with the help of Müller's edition, then this is hardly short of a text-critical fiasco.[209]

And surely this is not the only example. If we look too closely at some widely used editions, we might be surprised. There is, for instance, another important early genre in Indian literature, where we find a mismatch between public interest, translations and reprints on the one side and critical studies of the sources on the other: The text of the Upaniṣads we read is still that of vulgate editions produced from very few manuscripts. Here too the rule is confirmed that reading text-critical introductions is not to be advised, since it raises too many questions about the quality of the text presented. Take for instance the remark in the well-known edition of Limaye and Vadekar:[210]

> We have followed in the main the text of the Wāī Prājñapāṭhaśālā edition (being the latest in the field)—of course with due

[207] Op. cit., p. 1062. [208] Max Müller: *Auld Lang Syne. Second Series. My Indian Friends.* New York 1899, p. 25. [209] Walter Slaje just alerted me to Johannes Bronkhorst: *How the Brahmins Won* (Leiden 2016), where the author does indeed use Scheftelowitz' edition (p. 450), assigns it to a different *śākhā*. [210] *Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads.* Vol. 1. Poona 1958, p. vi.

> corrections—which in its turn follows the text of the Śaṅkarabhāṣya, being the oldest available; we have also noted variants in the other Bhāṣyas whenever important; but this treatment cannot be said to be complete. We consulted old MSS of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the Śvetāśvatara but our collation was not found to be useful: in many cases we found the MSS more faulty than the printed editions [. . .] So we gave up the attempt.

Reading text-critical introductions is often a painful experience, and one is regularly reminded of Housman. Naturally manuscripts are more faulty than printed editions, otherwise we would not need to compare many of them in the first place. In the best case printed editions are better than manuscripts, because they have used a bunch of them and selected the best readings. In the worst case, they used only one, which they conjectured beyond recognition. Since one can often not be sure which one is the case, because of the lack of an editorial report, it is safer to check the manuscript evidence before making any predictions about the quality of a printed text.

Then we can see that there is indological background information that has its bearing on editorial work. Śaṅkara's text, we read in the Pune edition, is the oldest. The argument is phrased differently by Witzel, who is following Olivelle: "in Upaniṣad texts Śaṅkara often has the better, difficilior forms. The reason is, again, that he could not change a Śruti text himself and second that he still knew his Vedic texts by heart, though he may have used MSS as well (an unstudied question again, to my best knowledge, even after 150 years of reading this important author!)".[211] In fact, the question has been studied by Wilhelm Rau. It may have to do with the sometimes odd places of publication that works of even renowned indologists escape attention. In the case of two articles by Wilhelm Rau this was perhaps deliberate; they contain what Witzel is missing here, namely, a study of Śaṅkara, in which Rau comes to the conclusion that the philosopher was not in a Vedic tradition in the way Vedic scholars tend to imagine. He committed mistakes in Vedic grammar, and Rau concludes that Śaṅkara, just as the rest of the Indian tradition, had to

[211] Witzel: *Textual criticism in Indology*, p. 25.

read the Upaniṣads from faulty manuscripts. Rau does not speak of difficilior forms, but of corruptions.[212]

In the case of the Upaniṣads Olivelle has diagnosed a total failure of textual criticism. In his article "Unfaithful Transmitters"[213]—here the unfaithful transmitters are European adherents of invasive conjectures like Böhtlingk—he shows that there has never been any attempt at an edition of any of the older Upaniṣads that meets critical standards. What the editors lacked in their recensio, their collection and collation of manuscripts, they tried to make up through emendation. Böhtlingk is one of the most astonishing examples for this trend. Like the English text-critic Bentley he apparently valued a good conjecture far above the evidence and tried to improve his editions by inserting supposedly correct forms whenever he felt the need. But we must add that this observation by Olivelle is far from new. It was Delbrück in his necrology of Böhtlingk in 1904 who says that contemporaries were already aware of this. He sums up the areas of his greatest virtuosity and ends with his practice "to help out the transmission with conjectures. In this last respect he has not infrequently overdone it by not correcting the transmission, but the author."[214]

But what about the manuscripts? Let us take, for instance, the *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*, so important for crucial ideas of later Hindu thought. The indological standard edition was that of Hauschild,[215] which was based on two Indian printed editions. Oberlies has presented a re-edition that used five printed editions and the readings of two manuscripts as reported by Max Müller. With these sources he was forced to make fundamental changes in some parts of the text.[216] What would have happened—one might imagine—if

[212] The articles are now easily accessible in: *Wilhelm Rau. Kleine Schriften*. Hrsg. Konrad Klaus und Joachim Friedrich Sprockhoff. 2 vols. Wiesbaden 2012, p. 1313–1328. The passage I summarize is: "Śaṅkara las nicht anders als die gesamte indische Tradition, von der wir Kunde haben, die Upaniṣads in fehlerhaften Handschriften und konnte sich bei ihrer sprachlichen Erklärung von keinem verlässlichen Lehrer Rat holen." (p. 1327) [213] Patrick Olivelle: *Unfaithful Transmitters. Philological Criticism and Critical Editions of the Upaniṣads*. In: *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 26 (1998): 173–187. [214] "[. . .] der Überlieferung durch Konjekturen aufzuhelfen. In letzter Beziehung hat er nicht selten über das Ziel geschossen, indem er nicht die Überlieferung, sondern den Autor verbesserte." Delbrück: "Otto Böhtlingk". In: *Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde. Beiblatt zu den Indogermanischen Forschungen*. 17 (1904), p. 136. [215] Richard Hauschild: *Die Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*. Leipzig 1927. [216] Thomas Oberlies: »Die Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad«. In: WZKS 39 (1995), p. 61–65.

anyone had ever collated for the first time a number of the actual manuscripts of this Upaniṣad?

One could go on. Even from my own limited experience it appears that reading manuscripts often means opening a can of worms. The result is sometimes catastrophic—in the sense that the text does not actually contain what we thought, but something else. For practising textual critics it would be a great pleasure to read a printed text without wondering at every unclear point, whether this is really the correct reading. Who wants to ponder on passages and put all ingenuity of interpretation into a phrase, when a first glance at a manuscript of the text shows that the editor made a stupid mistake. This for me is the great disadvantage of textual criticism: it bereaves one of some of the joy of just reading printed texts.

Early Indological Editions

We shall return to the history of indological textual criticism. Usually it is said that, since transmission in India and Europe is not entirely different, we may apply methods developed for classical texts to India.[217] The common perception is that indologists in the formative period in the nineteenth century, who usually had their primary training in Classical Studies, applied the principles of textual criticism, as known from their primary subject, to Indian texts. This is certainly correct in a sense, but as usual the truth is more complex. If we look more closely, it turns out that the notion that indological textual criticism adapted the methods of Classical Criticism to Sanskrit actually is an equation that consists of two unknowns. Usually one talks in this respect of the method of Lachmann, but we have already seen that this turns out to be a misleading label. Yet, if we approach his method not as above through later elaborations, things start looking quite differently. Firstly, the idea of Lachmann's method is the result of a historical misunderstanding—Lachmann as it were never practised "Lachmann's method"—and secondly, indological critical editing of Sanskrit texts had been practised for some decades before Lachmann's crucial

[217] Oskar von Hinüber: "Der vernachlässigte Wortlaut". In: Kurt Gärtner (ed.): *Zur Überlieferung, Kritik und Edition alter und neuerer Texte*. Mainz: Steiner 2000, p. 17f. The article lists conveniently the indological literature on textual criticism.

editions. Lachmann had like August Wilhelm Schlegel, the first indological editor, studied in Göttingen with Heyne, but much later. Before Lachmann had developed his "method", indologists had published quite a few critical editions of Sanskrit works. All of these are criticial in the sense that they are based on a number of manuscripts that were fully collated—not just on one single copy—and that they use text-critical reason. And most are in some way or another connected to the school of Schlegel in Bonn, in some cases also to Bopp in Berlin. Most travelled to London and Paris in search of manuscripts, thereby renewing the contacts between German, French, and British Indology that August Wilhelm Schlegel had inaugurated. From the introductions one gets the impression that this was a group of pioneering indological editors, connected by various students' friendships. In the introductions the fellow students are often mentioned, and it seems that Stenzler, Lenz, Bohlen, Lassen, Brockhaus, Tullberg, and Böhtlingk formed a close group. The following is a list of these early editions, not counting the more well-known editions of the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Hitopadeśa*, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Schlegel himself:

1. Adolphus Fridericus Stenzler: *Raghuvansa. Kálidásae Carmen. Sanskrite et Latine.* London 1832. This critical edition is based on eleven manuscripts, which are described in the introduction. There Stenzler also explains the background for the constitution of the text. The main text-critical fact to be dealt with was the split of the transmission into recensions marked by, or perhaps produced by, three commentaries. Stenzler writes:

> Libri manu scripti, [. . .] non solum carminis textum, sed tres etiam commentarios suppeditabant, quorum unus auctorem habet Mallinátham, alter Vrihaspatimisram, tertius Bharatasenam. Quibus subsidiis inter se comparatis, videbam, no mihi eligendum fore e paucis quibusdam lectionibus variis, sed potius e duabus ejusdem carminis recensionibus, nimium quantum inter se differentibus [. . .] (p. iii).

As in the transmission of many other texts, commentaries have stabilized or even fixed one version through commenting on sometimes

every single word.[218] The identification of such commentarial recensions has since become a standard procedure in Sanskrit editing.

Stenzler had used a comparatively large number of manuscripts, but except two in Bengali scripts, all were in Devanāgarī. Today the use of Devanāgarī manuscripts, then without alternative, is seen as more problematic. Since there are perhaps not many older or even late medieval texts that were first written in Devanāgarī—this script being used mainly as a communication tool between areas with their own local scripts for Sanskrit—, there must be a general suspicion that typical mistakes of transcription abound in Devanāgarī manuscripts, which are also more likely to be a vehicle for contamination between transmissional branches than manuscripts in regional scripts. If there are sources in the script of the area the author came from, then these manuscripts usually represent a local recension or transmission that definitely has to be taken into account, for sometimes a work is changed through transcription into another script and subsequent "emendation", whereas the local version can be more stable. But, as the text-critical common-place has it, "every text is different", so there is no point making a rule of this. In any case, Stenzler was already aware of some of the problems, when he wrote about one manuscript by Charles Wilkins which he was permitted to record:

> W. Codex V. Cl. Caroli Wilkins, quem, quod semper gratissimo animo recordabor, senex venerabilis inspiciendum et cum textu meo comparandum liberalissime mihi permisit. 138 foliis integrum tenet carminis textum, litteris Devanagaricis nitidissime et, quod in hujusmodi libris perraro locum habet, accurate simul scriptum. Pauci errores, qui occurrunt, indicare mihi videtur, hunc codicem descriptum esse e codice Bengalico. (p. vi)

Most important was the observation that these different recensions were not transmitted in ignorance of each other, but that they were

[218] It is in such cases sometimes possible to reconstruct the text commented upon even when the text itself is not transmitted separately, just from the passages quoted in the commentary.

mixed, and sometimes the other readings were marked as "*kṣepakaḥ* 'distichon rejiciendum' " or "*pāṭhāntaraṃ* 'alia lectio' " (p. iv). This is certainly what we expect: Commentators were obviously aware of variant readings, had presumably collected manuscripts and produced their own edition, where they ruled which verse was original and which one had to be rejected as spurious.

Stenzler was however aware that he should not produce from the mass of variants a new recension, but stick to one that presented the best text closely. After comparing several aspects of these, he settled more or less on the text of Mallinātha.[219]

The interesting, slightly anachronistic, question would be: Would stemmatics have helped? In his first text-critical treatment of a Kāvya Stenzler had used his common sense to distinguish recensions coinciding with commentatorial versions of a text. One could have drawn a stemma with three branches, but this would be mostly aesthetic, since before using this as a text-critical tool, we would have to solve the question, whether we should try to produce a critical text by eclectically selecting from all recensions, or whether it is advisable to follow one recension. In this we would argue with a "Leithandschrift" or "Leitrezension", which could be the most faithful, the oldest etc. Today, after the discovery of the oldest commentator Vallabhadeva, his text version is an obvious candidate.

2. Christianus Lassen: *Malatimadhavae Fabulae Bhavabhutis Actus Primus*. Bonn 1832. Five manuscripts described in the preface, *varietas scripturae* are given.

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[219] "Ad textum ex his subsidiis constituendum, aut alterutram, sive Mallināthae sive reliquorum duorum commentatorum recensionenm religiose sequi debebam, aut ex ampla ista lectionum varietate, quam codices suppeditabant, nova aliqua recensio erat concinnanda. Hoc ne facerem, deterrebat me rei ambiguitas; quare cum utriusque recensionis, scholiis stabilitatae, comparatione accurata instituta, nullum mihi dubium relinqueretur, quin ea, in quam Mallināthas commentarium suum concinnavit, altera esset antiquior, carminis nostri textum ex ejus commentario emendare potius duxi." Op. cit., p. iv.

3. Christianus Lassen: *Gymnosophista sive Indicae Philosophiae Documenta*. Bonn 1832. This edition of the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* is based on three manuscripts, the variants are discussed in the running commentary.

4. Robert Lenz: *Urvasia. Fabula Calidasi*. Berlin 1833. A complete *Apparatus Criticus* appeared in a separate volume in 1834.

5. Petrus a Bohlen: *Bhartriharis Sententiae*. Berlin 1833. The manuscripts are described in the introduction and an appendix contains the commentary.

6. Christianus Lassen: *Gita Govinda. Jayadevae Poetae Indici Drama Lyricum*. Bonn 1836. This edition is based on five manuscripts (one Bengali, the others Devanāgarī). Lassen admits that he could not find the traces of the hidden sense alluded to by Jones and Colebrooke[220] and therefore adds the commentary in order to give access to further interpretations. A previous edition by Baburāma (Calcutta 1808) is not used, because it is judged to be uncritical.[221] Lassen stated clearly that the whole range of readings had to be collected from manuscripts,[222] which rules out *emendatio ope codicum*, the occasional, unsystematic check in other manuscripts.

7. Stenzler: *Kumára Sambhava. Kálidásae Carmen. Sanskrite et Latine*. Berlin 1838. There are five main manuscripts used for the edition of the text based on the commentator Mallinātha. There are notes, but no readings are reported.

In a later publication Stenzler reviewed these first efforts as follows: "Für die ersten Ausgaben beider Gedichte mochte die Wiedergabe der durch seinen Commentar gesichterten Recension genügen. Eine gereiftere Kritik wird dabei nicht stehen bleiben können, sondern auch die von anderen Scholiasten überlieferten Recensionen heranziehen müssen."[223]

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[220] "Fateor, me summopere miratum, quum primum Gītagovindam perlegissem, tam pauca reconditoris sensus vestigia in carmine repperiri, [. . .]", p. xiii. [221] "Tenet ea testum critici praesidiis omnino nudum [. . .]", p. xxxv. [222] "Congerendam semper esse totam variae scripturae nubem ex libris reor [. . .]" Op. cit., p. xxxv. [223] Adolf Friedrich Stenzler: *Meghadūta. Der Wolkenbote*. Breslau 1874, p. iii.

8. Bohlen: *Ritusaṃhára. Id est Tempestatum cyclus.* Leipzig 1840. Here the variants are discussed in the commentary.

9. Brockhaus: *Kathāsaritsāgara. Die Mährchensammlung des Sri Somadeva Bhatta aus Kaschmir.* Leipzig 1839. Brockhaus' introduction is interesting, because of its description of the situation the early editors found themselves in:[224]

> Nach meinen Kräften habe ich mich bemüht, den grammatisch-correctesten und dem Sinne nach besten Text aus den verschiedenen Lesarten der angeführten Handschriften zu construiren. Nicht überall ist mir dies gelungen, viele Stellen sind mir undeutlich oder ganz unerklärlich geblieben, doch habe ich es als strengen Grundsatz durchgeführt, keine Conjecturen in den Text aufzunehmen, sondern nur durch Handschriften autorisirte Lesarten. Ich selbst kann meine Arbeit nur einen Versuch zu einer Ausgabe und Übersetzung nennen. Jeder aber, der aus indischen Handschriften ein Werk zuerst herausgegeben hat, ohne dass ein Calcuttaer Textabdruck oder eine Übersetzung die Arbeit erleichterte, ohne von irgend einer Glosse oder Commentar unterstützt zu sein, oder des mündlichen Unterrichtes einheimischer Gelehrten geniessen zu können, – jeder, sage ich, wird mit Nachsicht die vielen Mängel meiner Arbeit beurtheilen, die mir nicht verborgen sind [. . .] Die Varianten und sonstige Hülfsmittel zur Rechtfertigung meines Textes musste ich leider weglassen; diese Zugaben, für so wichtig und nothwendig ich sie auch halte, würden den Umfang des Werkes und somit die Kosten auf eine zu bedeutende Weise vermehrt haben."

Apparently Brockhaus refrained from the "Konjekturalkritik" advocated by the other authors and thereby shows that this was the standard procedure. The further history of the text is not uninteresting for textual criticism. Böhtlingk proposed a variety of emendations to the readings

[224] Op. cit., p. ix–x.

of Brockhaus in his dictionary, many of which have been in turn rejected by Speyer[225] with the help of the new edition of Durgāprasād.

10. Otto Fridericus Tullberg: *Malavika et Agnimitra.* Bonnae 1840. Based on four manuscripts. Variants are given in appendix (*Varietas Scripturae*, p. 97–108).

11. Gildemeister: *Kalidasae Meghaduta et Çringaratilaka.* Bonn 1841. Variants are discussed in an appendix.

12. Kosegarten: *Pañcatantra* 1848. Based on eleven manuscripts, critical notes did not appear because of the death of the author.

These are not even all critical editions published before 1850 by authors connected to the "Bonn school",[226] and we shall return to this date in the next chapter in connection with Lachmann. What we can see from this survey is the following: for typographical reasons readings could not easily be printed at the bottom of the page. There was a smaller Devanāgarī typeface, but possibly not in sufficient quantities. Usually variants were printed either in an appendix or discussed in the commentary. Often readings were selectively discussed in the critical notes, only few authors list a sizeable number of variant readings. The authors seem to have tried to utilize as many manuscripts as they could get in Europe. Only when all manuscripts failed, that is, yielded an unsatisfactory text, one resorted to "Konjekturalkritik", even though, as in the case of Brockhaus, this approach was sometimes rejected. The practice to conjecture cannot have been what Timpanaro has described as *emendatio ope codicum*, that is, a practice to use one manuscript and insert better readings from other manuscripts whenever necessary. At least in the case of Schlegel, we know from his instructions to Lassen in his letters that the basis of the text was a complete collation of all manuscripts. Since this was the method practised by the two first indologists in Bonn, it is fair to assume that their students worked in the same way. We may therefore not exactly know about the

[225] Jacob S. Speyer: *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara.* Amsterdam 1908. [226] We could add other editions produced in the same period: Böhtlingk's edition of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Bonn 1839), his *Śakuntalā* (Bonn 1842), or Stenzler's edition of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (Bonn 1847). Then there are lesser known ones, as Bernary's edition of the *Devīmāhātmya* (1830).

theory of editing in early Indology—the introductions are mostly too short and too practical to permit a reconstruction of the theoretical background—but we know that there was a practical school of editing. And if this much guess-work may be allowed here: it was—in a time when reading classes had to use manuscripts, because there were not enough books—probably taught in the same way, as translating from Sanskrit is taught in Indology now: as an established practice with its own history, but without much theory to fall back on. The introductions provide sufficient examples of a keen awareness of text-critical problems specific to the transmisson of Sanskrit texts.

Lachmann

Let us now compare the near contemporary practice of Lachmann. Witzel maintains that Lachmann had formulated his method as early as 1816, which would indeed predate critical editing in Indology. According to his biographer, Lachmann handed in his application for habilitation at Berlin University, on the 23.4.1816. As a specimen of his work, he presented his forthcoming edition of Properz,[227] which appeared in the same year,[228] an edition which does contain a review of manuscripts in the introduction (p. IXff.), but—according to experts on the history of edition in Classical Philology—does not contain his method. And needless to mention, it lacks all the criteria of Witzel, for it neither presents a stemma, nor does it systematically report readings.

The main problem is that "Lachmann's method" is not as clear a term as it sounds. Some authors hold that he never formulated a theory of his method, despite modern references to it. One has to gather it from hints in various publications.[229] The best source for Lachmann's early method, according

[227] "[. . .] die jetzt im Druck vollendete, wenn auch noch nicht ins Publikum gekommene Ausgabe des Properz". Martin Herz: *Karl Lachmann. Eine Biographie.* Berlin 1851, p. 34. [228] *Sex. Aurelii Propertii Carmina emendavit ad codicum meliorum fidem et annotavit Carolus Lachmannus.* Lipsiae 1816. [229] "Lachmann hat keine feste Theorie seiner Methode hinterlassen, obwohl sie bis in unsere Tage als solche immer wieder beschworen wird. Man muß sie aus den einzelnen Hinweisen und Ansätzen zusammentragen, zumal auch seine Editionen äußerst auskunftsfaul gewesen sind. Die beste Quelle ist eine ausführliche Rezension aus dem Jahre 1817 in der Jena'schen Literaturzeitung [. . .]" Hans-Gert Roloff: "Karl Lachmann, seine Methode und die Folgen". In: Hans Gert Roloff (ed.): *Geschichte der Editionsverfahren vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart im Überblick.* Berlin 2003, p. 66.

to Roloff, is the review of van der Hagen's edition of the *Nibelungenlied*, to which Witzel also refers: "Lachmann had established the rules of textual criticism already in his Habilitationsschrift (1816), and in his early review of Hagen's Nibelungen and Benecke's Bonerius, contributed in 1817."[230]

Let us therefore see which "rules of textual criticism" Lachmann establishes: He first rejects the method of the author with a demand that has become common-sensical. It is according to his opinion not enough to "take the text of the oldest and best manuscripts as the basis and correct it where appropriate with others".[231] Lachmann's criticism appears fully justified, since with the type of selective reading he criticizes one likely misses many original readings, because no systematic assessment of all transmitted readings is made.

Lachmann then describes his own approach. First he wants to establish his text with the help of a sufficient number of good manuscripts and arrive at the text that is the basis of all of them, a text, which is either already the original text or at least one very near to it. Roloff adds that "unfortunately Lachmann has never sufficiently explained, what constitutes a *good* manuscript [. . .] From his practical decisions we can gather that it is mostly the oldest manuscript, but that according to his decisions also younger manuscripts can hold the better readings."[232]

Up to this point Lachmann's approach is fairly clear: One should not print one manuscript with occassional improvements, but systematically search for the oldest state of the text, we can arrive at with the help of all sources. In his

[230] Witzel: *Textual Criticism*, p. 19. [231] The review is reprinted in *Kleinere Schriften zur deutschen Philologie von Karl Lachmann.* Ed. Karl Müllenhoff. Berlin 1876, p. 81ff. The translation is mine. [232] "Leider hat Lachmann nie konkret verdeutlicht, was eine *gute* Handschrift ist [. . .] Aus der Praxis seiner Entscheidungen läßt sich entnehmen, daß das zwar meistens die ältesten Handschriften sind, aber daß durchaus nach seiner Entscheidung auch jüngere Handschriften die besseren Lesarten haben können." Roloff: "Karl Lachmann, seine Methode und die Folgen", p. 67.

review Lachmann now suddenly introduces "simple rules" for establishing the text of the *Nibelungenlied*:[233]

> The further investigation, which we cannot detail here, shows that the remaining manuscripts, the redaction E mentioned before and the younger Munich manuscript (M), as well as G, are derived from an exemplar that was very much like B, but not all three directly, and that the source of the three was not a very new one, but an old one, to which a corrector had added his modifications. To identify these modifications, which sometimes one, sometimes the other scribe had overlooked but augmented with their own, this is the task of the editor. The rules, as far as we could find them, are the following: 1) Three manuscripts amongst the four easily overrule one. 2) Where two agree against two others BG < EM [. . .]"

The paradoxical situation here is that we may see such rules as the outcome of stemmatic considerations, only there is not even an attempt to explain the rationale for these rules. One needs considerable hindsight bias to see the start of the stemmatic method here.

Furthermore, the type of stemmatics we can infer from Lachmann's treatment is hardly satisfactory. We have in our transmission a corrector, as Lachmann says, whose activity has spread unevenly to the following generations of manuscripts. In other words, the transmission is contaminated, but the establishment of the text is still put down to simple rules. The first of these is merely numerical, which cannot work, if conscious modification is part of the transmission. The second rule cannot be the outcome of stemmatic

[233] "Die weitere Untersuchung, die wir jedoch hier nicht ausführen können, ergibt nämlich, dass die übrigen Handschriften, die erwähnte Umarbeitung E und die jüngere münchner (M), eben wie G, aus einem Exemplare, das B sehr ähnlich war, geflossen sind, alle drey aber nicht unmittelbar, und dass diese Urschrift der drey genannten nicht eine ganz neue gewesen, sondern eine alte, welcher der Verbesserer seine Änderungen beygeschrieben hatte. Diese Änderungen, welche bald dieser, bald jener Schreiber übersehen, und jeder mit neuen vermehrt hat, herauszufinden, das ist die Aufgabe des Herausgebers. Die Gesetze sind, so viel wir gefunden haben, folgende: 1) Drey Handschriften unter unseren vieren überstimmen alle Mal eine. 2) Wo je zwei überein stimmen, ist BG < EM [. . .]" *Kleinere Schriften zur deutschen Philologie von Karl Lachmann*, p. 87.

considerations, since Lachmann puts B near to the source of E, M, and G. If these are the two branches of our imagined stemma then the rule that E and M, where they agree, are stronger than B and G, is not at all what we expect from stemmatics, rather than any agreement, even of a single manuscript with B would have to be preferred.

In view of these facts it is problematic to speak of a method of Lachmann at all, and even more so to date it to his early works. Timpanaro and Schmidt[234] come to the conclusion that his method was only formulated in his latest works.

It is also interesting to note that in his earlier works Lachmann never had to collate himself, for he relied on other's apparatuses, and for some Middle German editions he in fact used the best manuscript method. Schmidt maintains that despite all claims to the contrary, he had no patience for collation or complicated transmissional scenarios, and quotes him as saying: "Through theoretical doubts the work that is already difficult, is only complicated further."[235] It seems he was particularly gifted and lucky in making most of very few manuscripts. But neither did his conjectures make it into modernity, nor did his analyses of the transmission of many texts stand the test of time. What is interesting is how students of Lachmann understood and used his method. Schmidt talks of an "imitation of Lachmann's lack of method in choosing as quickly as possible a 'best' manuscript and even renouncing earlier, broader attempts at a stemmatic reconstruction."[236] In this sense, but not in any later sense, Max Müller in his edition of the *Ṛgveda* was, as he himself says, following Lachmann! According to Schmidt, the connection of Lachmann with the stemmatic method is a back-projection. And finally the idea of a "méthode de Lachmann" occurs first in the writings of his French adversary Bédier, who has rightly critized the arbitrariness in constructing stemmas. But actually Lachmann's method of excluding manuscripts as apograph or contaminated and practically using only very few or even one source is very near to Bédier's method, and this discrepancy between what was later understood as the method of Lachmann and what Lachmann had practised can only be described as a historical misunderstanding.

[234] P. L. Schmidt: "Lachmann's Method: On the History of a Misunderstanding". In: *The Uses of Greek and Latin*. London 1988, p. 227–236.
[235] "Durch theoretische Zweifel verwirrt man die an sich schwierige Arbeit nur noch mehr". Op. cit., p. 231.
[236] Op. cit., p. 233.

Indological Solutions

If one reviews recent editions of Sanskrit texts, one notices a wide spectrum of approaches to textual criticism. There is firstly the meticulous application of stemmatics. Editors know that a critical edition needs a stemma, so it seems they produce one at all costs, that is, even where it has no effect on the editing process. Bronkhorst, for instance, has shown that the stemma given in the edition of the *Yuktidīpikā*[237] has serious logical defects.[238] The summary of his deliberations is revealing. After correcting the stemma, he says: "What difference would this modified stemma make to the edited text. Very little, of course."[239] In other words, the stemma is erected in the introduction like the sign post of a critical edition, but the effect on the edition itself seems less pronounced.

An edition of a Sanskrit text according to the stemmatic method is that of the *Vākyapadīya* by Wilhelm Rau.[240] It has taken into account the more than twenty manuscripts known at the time. In a long process Rau produced a stemma of all manuscripts which is characterized by a division of the whole transmission into a Southern and a Northern branch. The quality of the Southern branch Rau considers as higher and bases his edition on it. The Northern transmission he uses only in cases of doubt.

There is no reason to question this decision, but we should note that here the stemma is used in a function quite different from that in Maas' handbook and thereby shows one of the practical complications involved. Rau's stemma has two fundamentally unequal branches, the Southern transmission, which is characterized by a higher quality of the text, and a Northern generally more faulty one. Apparently the discrepancy is so clear that he formulates a general rule that he will follow the Southern transmission wherever possible. The stemma is not used as a tool to find out the reading of the archetype by following the mechanical rules laid down by Maas, but has only a minor function in establishing the text. Rau states that he refrained from construing a stemma from variant readings, for this—as he says—does not go beyond

[237] *Yuktidīpikā: the most significant commentary on the Sāṃkhyakārikā*. Critically ed. by Albrecht Wezler and Shujun Motegi. Stuttgart: Steiner 1998. [238] Review in ZDMG 103, p. 242ff. [239] Op. cit., p. 244. [240] *Bhartṛharis Vākyapadīya*. Wiesbaden 1977.

subjective impressions;[241] his stemma is based solely on lacunae. In this respect it is an exemplarily sober edition.

But strangely Rau's edition gives only a thin selection of readings,[242] so that the reader cannot gain an impression of the manuscripts' quality. More importantly any further work on the text is thereby severly impeded, since as soon as new manuscripts would appear, a new complete collation would be necessary. Perhaps this is the reason why Witzel did not grant Rau's edition a place in his A-list.

I adduce this example, because this is one of vexing practical questions any editor of a Sanskrit text has to address. Obviously it is the task of the editor to present the complete evidence contained in the manuscripts, but should this include really everything? First, the magisterial answer from our favourite handbook:

> Editors who are not very familiar with the behaviour of ancient and medieval scribes often report many trivial mistakes of spelling. These are not valuable unless one is making a survey of scribal habits, which is an important but highly specialized branch of study, not part of the brief of the average editor. Sometimes, however, an editor may feel justified in adopting a compromise position: he will perhaps come to the conclusion that if there is one manuscript of much greater importance than any other single witness to the text, even the minor errors of this manuscript should be recorded.[243]

The formulation is flawless, but for editorial practice some more hints are needed:

- *Graphical Ambiguities* — Once we actually start collating a manuscript, we find that the idea of *recensione sine interpretatione* may be an interesting concept for theoretical discussions on textual criticism, but that without understanding a text we can often not even properly read it. Here the deciphering of Sanskrit manuscripts is no different from

[241] Wilhelm Rau: "Über sechs Handschriften des Vākyapadīya". In: *Oriens*, 15 (1962), p. 376. [242] He says in the introduction that some readers would have probably wanted less. [243] Reynolds and Wilson: *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 239.

that of texts in nineteenth-century German *Kurrent* script. An edition depends in a high degree on the amount of training an editor has in the relevant script and on his ability to make sense of the text while deciphering it. We shall see below from examples that this is an important cause for erroneous editing.

What this means for the practice of reporting variants is this: if we are sure that an ambiguity disappears as soon as we understand the text, then there is no point in reporting it. For instance, scribes write the Śāradā letters *ma* and *sa* as almost indistinguishable. If in a given passage we know that the word in the context will have to be *samānīya* we need not report that the first *sa* looks perhaps more like a *ma*.

- Some manuscripts are so faulty or irregular in their placement of, for instance, *visargas* or *anusvāras*, that one might opt for not reporting these errors. This should be mentioned in the introduction. The reasoning is that neither will these errors contribute in any way to the establishment of the text, nor to the construction of a stemma.[244]
- The great danger with the non-reporting of seemingly trivial errors is that one has to keep the eyes open for possibly original features, as for instance regional variations of Sanskrit. An editor, who knows that Kashmirian scribes seem particularly prone to interchanging vovel combinations as *makura* - *mukura*, might want not to report such errors and just quote the correct form. But this would mean that regional spellings could be lost. Walter Slaje has provided me with the following evidence of one "Kashmirian" aorist form *aśiśrayat*, which he has accepted as the critical text in his edition of Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 322.[245] The manuscript evidence there oscillates between this and the correct(ed) form *aśiśriyat*. But in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there are cases where we have *aśiśriyat* without variants,[246] cases where the manuscripts have one or the other,[247] but also passages where we find *aśiśrayat* as the only reading.[248] Here the rule of the *lectio difficilior* should alert us to the

[244] Naturally such individual errors cannot be regarded as connecting errors. [245] See his *Kingship in Kashmir. From the pen of Jonarāja* [. . .] Halle 2014. [246] 3.216. 4.49. 8.458; 544; 860; 864; 923; 938; 1431. [247] 4.148. 7.762;770. 8.106; 927; 1438; 1485. [248] 5.132. 7.560.

most likely genesis of error, which is the correction of the non-standard form: *aśiśrayat* → *aśiśriyat*. In other words, the un-Pāṇinian form seems to be the original, Kashmirian variant, gradually weeded out from the tradition by correctors. The fault of an unsuspecting editor would not be to relegate this reading to the footnotes—without extensive collection of additional materials he could not dare to postulate an "ungrammatical" form as the original—but not to report it at all as a trivial mistake.[249]

- A further example: In editions of Kashmirian Sanskrit texts I was puzzled to find the reading *viṣada* for *viśada*. According to the Böhtlingk dictionary it is simply "erroneous", a mistake of spelling facilitated by pronunciation.[250] Of course, but a fairly persistent one; in many manuscripts of the *Mokṣopāya* it is well represented, but why accept *viṣada*, when other manuscripts read the correct *viśada*? Only recently I found a compelling argument for elevating *viṣada* to the status of a true variant spelling:

  This is from one manuscript of Sāhib Kaul's *Kalpavṛkṣa*, where the author himself explains the word *viṣada*[251] in two ways: as *malarahita*, in other words this is the usual meaning as "clear, clean", which our dictionaries record as *viśada*. But the second meaning is *viṣamūrchādāyitvena saṃsārākhyāvidyā*. Here *viṣa-da* is interpreted as the ignorance (*avidyā*) in form of the world, since it causes (*-da*) the delusion of (that is: like that of) poison. Here only the spelling *viṣa* can be correct.

Coming back to the edition of Rau, we have to add one more important point of criticism. Rau wants to reconstruct the archetype of the kārikā-manuscripts and comes to the conclusion that it was already deficient,[252] whereas some

[249] For the phenomenon of regional Sanskrit, see Madhav Deshpande: "On Vernacular Sanskrit". In: *Sanskrit & Prakrit. Sociolinguistic Issues.* Delhi 1993, p. 33ff. [250] Monier-Williams does not even record it. [251] Here in a feminine *bahuvrīhi*. [252] *Bhartṛharis Vākyapadīya*, p. 24.

versions with commentary—which are excluded as sources for the edition—according to Rau preserve original readings. Thus he considers his edition merely as one step on the way to a "final edition of the *Vākyapadīya*",[253] which would have to gain the original work with the help of the Kārikā-Text, the commentator's version and the testimonia. Two things are puzzling here: Why does Rau, if he considers his edition preliminary and expects others to carry on the work, give only few readings, thereby making it extremely difficult for others to build upon his edition? And secondly, what are the arguments for keeping the transmission of the kārikās and the commentated version separate?

In other compartments of Indology we find a declaration that stemmatics is in view of the contamination of many transmissions often impossible.[254] This diagnosis has been arrived at frequently and in view of the activity of pre-modern Indian scholars transmitting and editing Sanskrit works as described above this scenario is so likely that the burden of proof—usually one expects the editor to prove that the transmission is contaminated in order to absolve him or her from producing a stemma—should be reversed.

As a reaction to this some Sanskrit editors have adopted an entirely different type of classical textual criticism to deal with contaminated recensions,[255] the "Kontaminationskritik" as developed by Pasquali and others. This method may appear to be a roll-back before the time of Lachmann: from objective, stemmatic editing back to subjective decisions. But actually this impression is created only by the undue propaganda of Lachmann. As we have seen, even stemmatic editing has to depend very often on decisions according to other, non-stemmatic criteria. This fact is easily overlooked by theorists and only hesitantly disclosed by practitioners, because here the scientific approach of stemmatics comes to an abrupt halt. Unless the editor silently follows a "best" manuscript, he has to decide according to the so-called inner criteria, which Lachmann wanted to avoid. Fränkel has indicated that in practice this admission is avoided through the dirty tricks of the trade: Editors tend to produce a stemma, but silently follow a *Leithandschrift* in order to avoid having to

[253] "[. . .] endgültigen Edition des Vākyapadīya". Op. cit. p. 37. [254] See the quotation of COULSON above, p. 74. [255] See JÜRGEN HANNEDER: "Introduction". In: JÜRGEN HANNEDER and PHILIPP A. MAAS (eds.): *Text Genealogy, Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique.* [=WZKS LII–LIII (2009–2010)], p. 12.

decide between readings. Fränkel, Pasquali and others therefore argue for a return of the inner criteria, which were forgotten, or rather pushed out of sight, through the claim of the stemmatic method to be more scientific.

The rationale of "Kontaminationskritik" can be explained by starting from Maas, who says that, if contamination is diagnosed, stemmatic exclusion techniques cannot work, because every variant becomes a *presumptive variant.* This means every contaminated manuscript can alone, that is, against all other witnesses, preserve the original reading. As a result no manuscript can be excluded as an apograph, singular readings cannot be excluded, the whole instrumentarium of simplifying the editing process cannot operate any more. This observation is quite old. The first indological editor, August Wilhelm Schlegel, will have read it in a preface by his colleague in Jena: "Lectio paucorum codicum, imo vnius codicis, genuina esse potest."[256] Thus every reading has to be judged for its merits, and criteria have to be found in order to avoid that this process is simply one of individual taste. It may for some be an unpleasant realisation that under these conditions we are suddenly much nearer to the practitioners of a pre-modern *ars critica*, be it European or South-Asian. Phrased in a more theoretical way, we are producing an eclectic text, a confession that has, as one would expect, led to extensive discussions,[257] but again not at all new:[258]

> The manuscripts of the Greek translation of the Old Testament are all either directly or indirectly the result of an eclectic method: for this reason, who wishes to find the original text, needs to be an eclectic as well.[259]

He adds in a footnote that no manuscript

[256] *Libri Historici Novi Testamenti Graece. Pars prior* [...] Emendavit et lectionis varietatem adiecit Io. Iac. Griesbach. Halae apud Io. Iac. Curt. 1774, Praefatio, p. xv. [257] ELDON JAY EPP: "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Symptom?". In: *Harvard Theological Review* 69 (1976), p. 211–257. [258] PAUL DE LAGARDE: *Anmerkungen zur Griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien.* Leipzig: Brockhaus 1863, p. 3. [259] "die manuscripte der griechischen übersetzung des alten testaments sind alle entweder unmittelbar oder mittelbar das resultat eines eklektischen verfahrens: darum muß, wer den echten text wiederfinden will, ebenfalls eklektiker sein."

is as good as to not often enough present bad variants, and none so bad as to not present occasionally a good "grain".[260]

This sums up succinctly the dilemma of the editor, and suggested solutions are many. There are now advocates for rigorous (computer-)stemmatics on one hand of the spectrum and those who advocate a "thoroughgoing eclecticism" where "the cult of the best manuscript gives way to the cult of the best reading".[261]

For the latter the most detailed treatment of such a method for Sanskrit literature is found in Srinivasan's introduction to his edition of the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī*,[262] a work without which a treatment of indological textual criticism is I think not complete.[263] What Srinivasan has done was to reformulate the once degraded internal criteria, as the *lectio difficilior*, *usus scribendi*, etc.[264] with regard to Sanskrit texts. The following is a brief summary.[265]

Srinivasan starts by looking at individual constellation of readings. If there is no variance, the text is in principle accepted as "primary" (§ 1.4.1), only occasionally the primary reading was gained through emendation (§ 1.4.2). Herein the different schools of editing will agree, but in case of variance there is one general principle, on which most others depend:

> § 1.4.3 When the transmission is not unanimous the reading which is regarded as primary is that from which the others might genetically derive.

This is the main principle of "Kontaminationskritik" from which many others follow. The underlying idea is to use the genetic principle not for whole manuscripts, but merely with a view to the singular reading. The text-genetic idea is applied to the micro-philological level. Authors have termed this principle differently; Fränkel's "proclivity to corruption"[266] is perhaps not

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[260] "so gut ist, daß sie nicht oft genug schlechte lesarten, keine so schlecht, daß sie nicht mitunter ein gutes körnchen böte."
[261] J. K. ELLIOT: "Rational criticism and the text of the New Testament." (*Theology* 75 (1972), p. 340f.) as quoted in ELDON JAY EPP: "The Eclectic Method", p. 253.
[262] *Vācaspatimiśras Tattvakaumudī. Ein Beitrag zur Textkritik bei kontaminierter Überlieferung*. Hamburg 1967.
[263] Witzel would probably not agree, since he does not mention the work.
[264] See JÜRGEN HANNEDER: "Introduction", p. 12.
[265] The English rendering of some rules was prepared long ago by Dominic Goodall and myself.
[266] "Gefälle zur Korruptel hin".

a very lucid expression of the same idea, the old term may have been *lectio media*, the middle reading that explains how the others developed. If we search the history of textual criticism for early formulations of the principle, we at least arrive at Erasmus:[267]

> In many cases, Erasmus does not apply the principle of the harder reading as such, but the commonsense principle that governs this text-critical rule. He asks, so to speak, which one of two readings was more likely to give rise to the other one. He then uses the possible offence taken by a scribe as an indication. In this way, it is not simply a criterion by means of which he decides between two rival readings, but an effort to imagine the possible process by which a text was altered [. . .]
>
> It is not simply a matter of choosing the harder reading, but an attempt to ascertain the most likely historical process. In this case, an argument from style and context also comes into play.

The example of the harder reading shows that this genetic rule is really a meta-rule of Kontaminationskritik, from which a host of others derive.

Many authors have used or formulated this principle, but the question is rather, when to apply it. Sukthankar, to whom Srinivasan refers, tried "to find a reading which best explains how the other readings may have arisen." But only when all other stemmatic methods failed. Srinivasan in his text diagnoses total contamination and therefore starts with this method right from the beginning and applies it to all cases. Srinivasan situates his method within the broader field of textual criticism, referring to Pasquali, Dawe, Kosambi, but singles out a statement of Vandelli, who in his work on the criticism of Dante's *Divina Comedia* made this principle "il più importante", the most important one.

One characteristic of a contaminated recension is often that there are in a given passage variants that make almost equal sense, as if a long transmission had already corrected all the inevitable scribal errors and distilled a selection of plausible readings. We cannot reject one of them because of their position in the wrong manuscript or on the wrong side of the stemma, and we cannot

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[267] JAN KRANS: *Beyond what is written*. Leiden: Brill 2006, p. 41.

use the sense as the guiding criterion, because the transmitters may have thought of that already. According to Srinivasan these readings are, however, not equal as regards their textcritical value, and this is the chance for the critic to arrive at the primary reading (§ 1.4.4).

In the following the author gives examples for two groups of non-original readings: some secondary readings result from deliberate alteration, some are accidental (§ 1.4.5). This classification is an important hint to the stemmatic, an observation that questions the foundations of the model of Maas, according to which every scribe just copied, but without intervention.

At this point we find what is perhaps the most problematic of Srinivasan's rules:

> § 1.4.5.1 Sometimes a reading is not interpretable, or not satisfactorily interpretable. For exactly this reason it shows itself to be primary.

This is an extreme restatement of the *lectio difficilior*. On this point opinions differ, some even argue that the principle should be dropped, because its overuse is more frequent than its beneficial application. The problem is that too many phenomena can be justified through this label: it can make a wrong reading into the right reading, and some authors have added a cautionary remark to the effect that the reading must be one that appears difficult at first sight, but in the end turns out to be the more convincing reading.[268] One needs to see Srinivasan's examples to understand the idea: sometimes his preferred reading is an elliptic text that becomes understandable only in the context, but at least in one instance he takes the principle to the extreme and considers an unclear reading as the primary one, because it explains the development of the other readings.[269]

There is one interesting indological discussion about the application of the principle.[270] Sanderson had found parallels between Śaiva and Buddhist

[268] Again, not a new discovery. See Griesbach's description: "Praeferatur lectio breuior, obscurior, durior, sensum paradoxum aut apparenter falsum [. . .]". *Libri Historici Novi Testamenti Graece. Pars prior*, p. xv.

[269] Here one might argue that this method can, as every other, arrive at no more than the reading of the archetype, but not necessarily the one intended by the author.

[270] For the following, see Alexis Sanderson: "The Śaiva Age". In: Shingo Einoo: *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*. Tokyo 2009, p. 190.

Tantras, in which the Śaiva version was more intelligible and sound, whereas the Buddhist version was garbled and confused, and concluded from this that the direction of influence was from Śaiva to Buddhist.[271] Unsurprisingly there were counter-arguments from Buddhologists to the effect that since the Buddhist version was less clear it should be regarded as a *lectio difficilior*, and consequently the direction of borrowing would have to be from Buddhist to Śaiva. In order to settle the matter, Sanderson has clarified the concept of a *lectio difficior* in terms that deserve being quoted in full:

> Now, the objection that a version which is less clear in this sense must have preceded one that is freer of these defects, proceeds from a serious misunderstanding of how the rule of the *lectio difficilior* is to be applied. Firstly, like all other 'rules' of textual criticism, it should never be put to work mechanically and in advance, without the application of thought to the weighing of probabilities in each case; and secondly, it should never be invoked to give precedence to readings that are grammatically defective, incoherent, or contextually awkward.

For those unimpressed he quotes West: "There is an important difference between a more difficult reading and a more unlikely reading". Or, more direct and in the words of Chadwick: "The principle *lectio difficilior potior* does not extend to nonsense".

There is also a modern Sanskrit formulation of the rule:[272]

> [. . .] *kaḥ sulabhaḥ samīcīnaḥ pāṭhaḥ, kaś ca asamīcīnaḥ durbodhaś ca pāṭhaḥ, etādṛśasvarūpo vimarśo 'pi na / pratyuta bahuṣu sthaleṣu ca upalabdhayoḥ dvayoḥ pāṭhayoḥ kaṭhinatarapāṭhe eva mūlagranthatvasambhāvanā kartuṃ yogyā bhavati /*

[271] This was stated in his article "Vajrayāna: Origin and Function" (in: *Buddhism into the Year 2000*. Bangkok 1994, p. 87–102) in a most unambiguous manner: "The present author's view is that almost everything concrete in this system is non-Buddhist in origin even though the whole is entirely Buddhist in function." (p. 92.)

[272] *Prauḍha Manoramā with Commentary Śābdaratna*. Critically edited by Venkatesh Laxman Joshi. Vol. 1. (Deccan College Monograph Series 31) Poona 1966, p. 30.

It is perhaps even an unwanted side effect of the eclipse of the inner criteria as formulated in the pre-Lachmann era, for instance by Wettstein, that some editors became so focussed on the *lectio difficilior* that warnings against its overuse are now frequent. As usual Reynolds and Wilson have found the common-sensical formulation: "Many references to the maxim *difficilior lectio* will be found in commentaries, and there is no doubt of its value. But it has probably been overworked, for there is a temptation to use it as a defense of anomalous syntax or usage; in such cases the more difficult reading may be more difficult because it is wrong."[273]

Then Srinivasan continues with a set of rules that describe the activity of scribes. These rules quite obviously cannot be applied mechanically but only with circumspection, and tailored to specific cases. They are techniques used according to situation and thus contain inevitably a subjective moment. Here the claim of objective editing has been or has to be given up and be replaced by a training of taste. This is, however, also not a new insight, but described already by Paul Maas in his treatment of the stemmatic method.[274] The reason for this is that the stemmatic method is far from being fundamentally more objective, it merely separates a supposedly mechanical retrieval of the readings of the archetype from the phase of conjecture. The following are examples for further rules of Srinivasan:[275]

> § 1.4.5.2 Usually deliberate alteration is made to passages which are without problems.
>
> § 1.4.5.3 What is perceived as ambiguous is altered.
>
> § 1.4.5.4 What is redundant or perceived as redundant is removed.
>
> § 1.4.5.5 But transmitters do not just reduce the text; they more usually amplify it.
>
> § 1.4.5.7 What is unfamiliar is altered.
>
> § 1.4.5.8 In quotations the primary reading is occasionally altered to suit the immediate context.

[273] *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 221f. [274] "[. . .] in matters of style he alone is responsible, and it must be his keenest endeavour throughout his life to perfect his feeling for style, even if he realizes that one man's lifetime is not long enough to allow a real mastery in this field to reach maturity." *Textual Criticism*, p. 10. [275] The translation is not very literal, since we tried to extract rules from the more complex syntactial units of Srinivasan.

> § 1.4.5.10 One commonly has to decide between a compound and separate inflected words. The inflected form can be demonstrated to be secondary—it is sometimes deliberately introduced to obviate perceived ambiguities—but this is rare. It is generally more probable that the readings in compound are secondary and have been accidentally introduced.
>
> § 1.4.5.11 If some readings are closely parallel in wording or phrasing to the accepted text of a neighbouring passage, then it is likely that these are secondary and are the result of unconscious assimilation by the transmitters.
>
> § 1.4.5.12 In a number of cases the text was constituted through emendation.
>
> § 1.4.5.17 Sometimes there are no criteria for deciding what is secondary and what is primary.
>
> § 1.4.5.20 When the readings are synonyms or quasi-synonyms it can be impossible to decide what is primary.

Much could be said about these maxims. For instance, emendation may be necessary in many cases, but where the manuscripts already supply a wealth of readings from which to select, it is difficult to assess whether a non-transmitted reading is really called for. The threshold here varies with individual editors. Then there are those texts which display an irregular Sanskrit, ranging from Epic to Buddhist "Hybrid", and as a more recent addition "Aiśa", i.e. Śaiva Sanskrit. For the editor it is very difficult to say whether these texts have suffered more through scribes adding more mistakes, or through correctors who tried to move towards a standardized Sanskrit thereby effacing the grammatical peculiarities. Here the editor is always in danger of emending an irregular, but "original" form, or leaving an error by the scribe in the text as a supposed feature of the language. As often in textual criticism, there is no easy solution and perhaps none that would satisfy a theoretical approach. One example would be a recent edition of three early

Pañcarātra texts from *codices unici*.[276] There is a line in one of these texts that seems to have a parallel in another:

> *ekamūrti vijānīyā brahmāviṣṇumaheśvaraḥ*
> (*Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* 2.4ab)

> *ekamūrti trayo bhāvaṃ brahmaviṣṇumaheśvarāḥ*
> (*Devāmṛtapañcarātra* 2.3ab)

These lines as found in the manuscripts are ungrammatical, and the question is how much of it is original. Is *ekamūrti* just a scribal error, or is it a feature of this language to use stem forms for various "cases".[277]

In the first instance the editor emends to *ekamūrtiṃ vijānīyā brahmaviṣṇumaheśvaraṃ*, in the second to *ekā mūrtis trayo devā brahmaviṣṇumaheśvarāḥ*, which is understandable, but amounts to a rewriting of these lines to yield the required sense. Since the texts are not translated, a third theoretical option is not explored which would be to explain the grammatical construction through a translation, but refrain from adding case endings. Reading *ekamūrti* in both cases, and interpreting it variously as an accusative or a nominative, is an option that would at least allow us to remain a little nearer to the transmitted texts. For it is not the extremely high number of emendations and conjectures in each and every verse of these texts that makes the reader wonder,—these may be unavoidable when editing from a single manuscript that is very faulty—but he may wonder whether the reconstruction of the sense has more or less effaced the original wording in "Tantric" Sanskrit.[278]

The last rule of Srinivasan also shows the limitation of the method. In some transmissions of Sanskrit texts we regularly find in a given passage synonyms that work equally well in the context and cannot convincingly be selected by internal criteria. Here a mechanical criterium, as for instance a stemma produced by whatever method, in the worst case a best manuscript

[276] Diwakar Acharya: *Early Tantric Vaiṣṇavism. Three Newly Discovered Works of the Pañcarātra*. Pondichéry, Hamburg 2015. [277] This would not be so unusual for a speaker of a Sino-Tibetan language. [278] The editor treats the Sanskrit of these Pañcarātra scriptures as parallel to that in Śaiva scriptural texts where it is called "Aiśa" (pertaining to Īśa, i. e. Śiva) and uses the term for it, but if the language was not limited to that milieu, a wider term might be more appropriate.

would be a relief, unless one wants to roll a dice with manuscripts sigla for numbers.

Thus, as every practitioner knows, the theory may be fascinating, but the practice can be messy, or, to put it in a more sophisticated way: "While general principles are undoubtedly of great use, specific problems have an unfortunate habit of being *sui generis*, and similarly it is rare to find two manuscript traditions which respond to exactly the same treatment."[279]

And so I must close this chapter without a clear methodological suggestion. As usual British pragmatism has found the right words:[280]

> The more open a tradition is, the less fruitful the stemmatic approach is likely to be, and other methods must be tried. These range from empirical, common-sense approaches which accept the necessities of an imperfect world, to elaborate statistical techniques which aim at more objective results. In some cases it is possible to adopt a flexible modification of the genealogical method. The manuscripts are classified as far as is possible into broad groups and the editor chooses his readings eclectically, persuaded more by their intrinsic merit than by considerations of affiliation and authority and taking care to balance these factors to suit the nature of the tradition. But if contamination has gone so far that, in the words of Housman, 'the true line of division is between the variants themselves, not between the manuscripts which offer them,' various approaches may be adopted which all tend to concentrate on the variants themselves rather than on the manuscripts which carry them [. . .] Ultimately, the basic essential equipment is taste, judgement, common sense and the capacity to distinguish what is right from what is wrong in a given context; and these remain the prerequisite of human wit.

In practice the text-critical work remains difficult, and with its individual solutions often proves somewhat theory-resistant. Here one might side with

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[279] *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 239. [280] *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 239f.

Lachmann—"Through theoretical doubts the work that is already difficult, is only complicated further".[281]

Phrased in a more positive manner, we could also say that editors of Sanskrit texts have at their disposal a rather differentiated repertoire of techniques and methods of criticism, and need to test and weigh the application of one or the other carefully. To make stemmatics a hard and fast rule is in my opinion unnecessary, if not counterproductive. The unpleasant side effect of this is that the type of objectivity and "Wissenschaftlichkeit" that the "Lachmann method" had promised has to be given up.

But I think we need not officially reintroduce the subjective factor in editing, or even—like Donaldson—denounce, "with amiable severity, the entire project of a "scientific" textual criticism",[282] for the selection of a reading may not be automatic, but it must follow sound arguments. That such arguments must be philosophical or literary rather than stemmatic can neither be avoided nor should it be regretted. Or, in the words of Bédier: « Il est permis d'estimer que la poésie a des raisons que l'arithmétique ne connaît pas ».[283]

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[281] "Durch theoretische Zweifel verwirrt man die an sich schwierige Arbeit nur noch mehr". [282] Jerome McGann: *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. Chicago 1983, p. 107. [283] *Romania* 64 (1938), p. 215.

The Pitfalls of Editing

In practical editing in Indology the reliability and quality of an edited text is sometimes not so much determined by the details of the method for selecting among variants as by the quality of the material available, and by the degree to which one is able to properly understand the text, its language and the subtleties of the content. In felicitous constellations a scholar specialized on the topic of the text can produce an edition from one or a few "good" manuscripts that is much better than the text-critical data would let us expect.[1]

Usually producing a first edition from an arbitrary manuscript is fraught with dangers. An insecure deciphering of the script can lead to follow-up mistakes, corruptions are more difficult to spot, because there are no variants that point to a problem in the transmission, and so forth. And even if such an edition is done properly, a second manuscript may surface at any time that can call the whole endeavour into question. There are many examples that after the publication of an edition new materials appear that cast serious doubt on the correctness of the text, and necessitate a revision. One particularly spectacular case is the recovery of an older version of the "Urtext" of Lao Zi[2] in 1993, which leads to the conclusion that Lao Zi was not the historical person one has long imagined, but—if we want to speak of an author at all—a later redactor of a collection of sayings.

Similarly, a false sense of security sometimes concerns whole traditions of transmission, as the case of the Pāli canon shows. For historical reasons European editions have almost exclusively relied on Ceylonese materials and tended to ignore the Burmese tradition, which forms a separate branch, but not without complicated interactions between these "branches". For editors the insight that the manuscripts one trusted in one's daily work may form but one small branch of a larger stemma (which is in fact not that surprising) often comes as a shock and therefore produces the understandable psychological phases of denial, aggressive dismissal, refutation with unreflected arguments, and the like. Nalini Balbir has described some reactions of editors

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[1] I think the present chapter will clarify that I am far from defending this practice, as Witzel thought: "Hanneder (2009/10) still defends this practice as the results of such editions were normally reliable." Witzel: *Textual criticism in Indology*, , p. 52. [2] See *Lao Zi (Laotse). Der Urtext*. Übersetzt und kommentiert von Wolfgang Kubin. Freiburg 2011, p. 11ff.

of Theravāda texts, who thought they knew that early Buddhism was found in Ceylonese sources and nowhere else, and had to accept gradually the existence of other materials.[3] The conviction about the validity of some sources was apparently so strong that editions produced in the Pali Text Society were sometimes based on merely a single manuscript, not because the text was transmitted to posteriority in a *codex unicus*, but because more material was deemed unnecessary.[4]

But the Pāli canon and some Buddhist Sūtras in Sanskrit seem to present again a problem *sui generis*, which some editors have tried to circumvent with the help of synoptic editions, where all versions are printed in parallel texts. Let us assume that there are ten witnesses, then the first ten lines will give ten versions of the text, very much like an old-style collation sheet. Peter Skilling has written on this practice and asked the question whether this could be seen as the solution to the dilemma of editing Pāli literature.[5] There is also one example for such a synoptic edition,[6] which Peter Skilling in his introduction to this work has called a test edition. Such editions may be valuable tools for scholars, but are subject to the same criticism as multi-text editions in European philologies produced in the wake of the so-called "new philology". Such editions have one clear advantage for the editor in that they avoid problematic decisions, but with the effect that these are left to the reader.[7]

In the following I shall merely give one example for a first edition from one manuscript that has produced a problematic text. The other concerns a text, where there is a strange discrepancy between the edition and the text in the manuscript.

Bhāskara's Cittānubodhaśāstra

Bhāskarakaṇṭha, a Kashmirian author of the eighteenth century, was known first as a commentator on Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* since

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the middle of the last century, when his so-called *Bhāskarī* was edited.[8] Through this he was made a "Kashmir Shaiva author" and with its high sophistication, his commentary seemed to belong more to the golden age of Pratyabhijñā than to late Mughal India.

The editor Pandey had mentioned that Bhāskara was the author of further works, for instance a "Commentary on Yoga Vāsiṣṭha. It consisted of one lac and ten thousand verses, according to his own statement in his introduction to the Bhāskarī. But only a few fragments of it are now left with his present descendants. This presents a Śaivaite interpretation of the text."[9] This was only half-true, since his commentary was on the older non-Vedāntic Kashmirian recension called *Mokṣopāya*, and did not "present a Śaivaite interpretation", but showed a completely different aspect of Bhāskarakaṇṭha, who in his commentary tries to follow the idiosyncratic philosophy of the author of the *Mokṣopāya* without reducing him to a Śaiva or any other perspective. The edition of this *Mokṣopāyaṭīkā* was started half a century after Pandey. The fragments, given the fact that the text commented upon has 30000 verses, are huge, and five volumes of six have appeared up to now.[10] Yet another aspect of this versatile author needs to be mentioned: Bhāskarakaṇṭha "edited" the Kashmiri sayings of the fourteenth-century woman saint Lallā with a Sanskrit translation.[11] And just one last observation to underline that this author is worth studying: Bhāskara in his *Mokṣopāyaṭīkā* explains that the *Mokṣopāya*, which is presenting itself as a part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was not, as pious authors would presuppose, written by Vālmīki, but by a human author. And what is more: this does not mean it is less valid.

For that reason the publication of Bhāskarakaṇṭha's *Cittānubodhaśāstra*,[12] the only work of his that was not a commentary, should have attracted some attention, since here we could hope to find his own philosophy. But the work,

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But taken together with the other materials, it is still possible to restore the wording of the mūla text beyond doubt. Since the work demands a few years of sustained attention, I decided to set up and apply for a research project, but first I had to demonstrate to the funding institution, why a new edition mattered. I expected a frantic search for those passages that would show my point most clearly and in such a concentrated way that would not test the patience of the unsalaried referees.

But it was absurdly simple: when I had read the first three verses, I had more than enough material to diagnose a total failure of the printed edition. What follows is a brief comparison of the first three verses of Bhāskarakaṇṭha's *Cittānubodhaśāstra* as given in the printed edition with the edition prepared first for the application for the research project (and then with more sources in the project itself). For proving my point I had used merely a few manuscripts then at hand, now we have in addition an auto-commentary that allows us to ascertain the original readings beyond any reasonable doubt.

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Often in cases where we have an uncritical first edition based on unknown sources, there is the considerable uncertainty, whether a singular reading in the edition really is the reading of any manuscript or actually an emendation of the editor. In the case of the *Cittānubodhaśāstra* the situation was more comfortable, because the manuscript used for the first edition was known and available, it was therefore possible to check the edition and its only source. This is the first verse in Stanislav Jager's edition:

Cittānubodhaśāstra 1.1 (Crit. Edition)

viṣayanicayaṃ dehaṃ *prāṇaṃ* svarūpatayā mataṃ
dhiyam atha nabho nyakkṛtyaitat prameyatayā tataḥ /
padam *upagataś* cinmātrākhyaṃ prakāśamayaṃ punas
tadanu sakalaṃ svāntar *dhṛtvā* sthito jayatād vibhuḥ //

After subduing objects (*viṣaya*), body (*deha*), breath (*prāṇa*), mind (*dhī*) and void (*nabhas*), considered (one by one as progressively subtler) identities (, but are one by one considered) as objects of perception, one reaches a state full of light called mere consciousness, thereafter, holding everything within oneself,— may the pervading (Self)[14] be victorious.

The wording and sense are not in doubt,[15] and the text is largely secured through the *pratīkas* quoted in the auto-commentary. Now let us see the printed edition:

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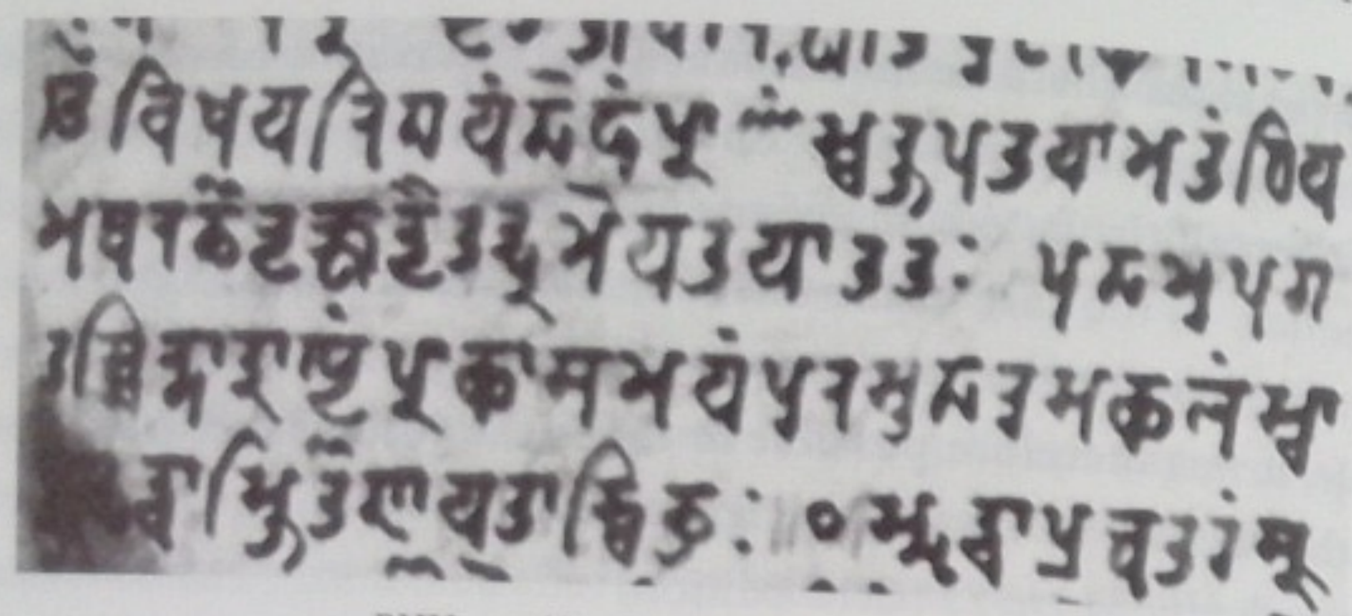
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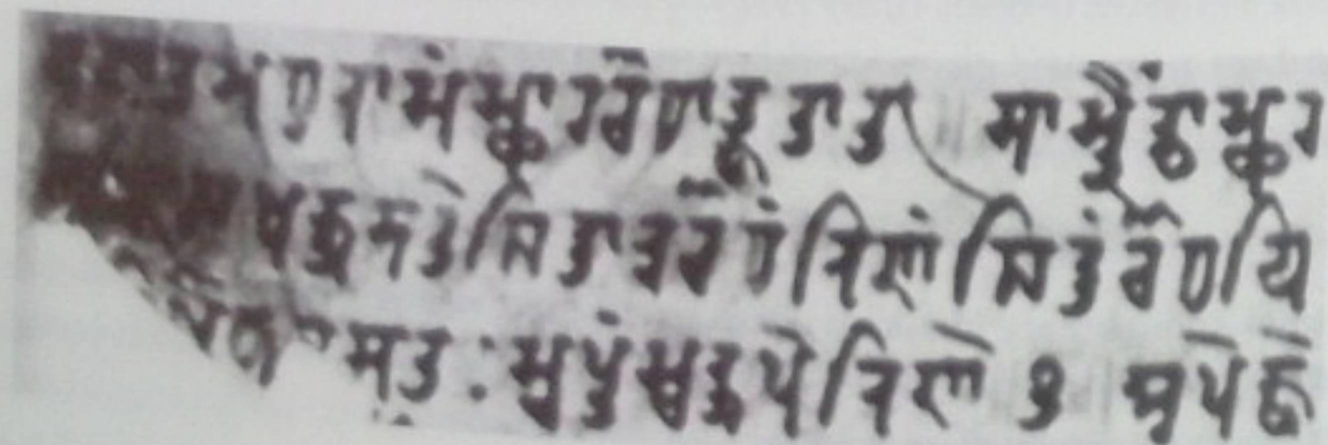
From this only the bold conjecturer would have been able to gain the intended sense. The changes are small, but the noun *upagatiḥ* cannot be construed and renders *padam cinmātrākhyaṃ* doubtful, the reading *vṛtvā* spoils the sense, and without the reading *prāṇaṃ*, we easily fail to grasp that a doctrinal sequence—usually the last item is termed *śūnya*—is meant here. The tragedy here lies in the fact that the erroneous readings are merely misreadings of the Śāradā manuscript. No textual criticism is needed, merely experience in reading Śāradā and some knowledge of the Śaiva background of the author.

Cittānubodhaśāstra 1.2cd (ed. Pandey)

śāstrair bhāskarakaṇṭha eṣa kurute cittānubodhaṃ nijam
cittaṃ bodhayituṃ [*svabhāva*]vaśataḥ *svaṃ puṃ*svarūpe nije //

Cittānubodhaśāstra 1.2cd (Crit. edition)

śāstrair bhāskarakaṇṭha eṣa kurute cittānubodhaṃ nijam
cittaṃ bodhayituṃ *vimoha*vaśataḥ *suptaṃ* svarūpe nije //



This is an example of an emendation by the editor. For a partly illegible word she conjectured *svabhāva*. If we look at the manuscript, we can see that the *i*, part of the *m* and the *o* are still legible, which I think safely rules out *svabhāva*. Now the reading *puṃsvarūpe* is a likely misreading, since *sva* and *su* are often confused in Śāradā script. But for the reading of the edition one has to add an *anusvāra*, which is clearly not there.

It is only after seeing the original version that one has a chance to understand the verse. Bhāskara did not express the garbled idea that he wanted "to awaken his own mind through its own nature in his own male nature." For making any sense of this we would have to reinterpret *puṃs* to anything more meaningful like *puruṣa*, but that the mind is awakened because of its nature in the nature of the *puruṣa* is in Sanskrit as meaningless as it is in English. But of course one can only be sure after reading the original which could not be more coherent. The "mind which is sleeping because of its delusion within one's own nature" is awakened. This is a good example of the common phenomenon that one cannot easily spot a corruption unless one has at one's disposal variants, preferably with better readings. And seeing the striking coherence of the original in this case, as in many others, we get the impression that quite apart from all considerations of textual criticism the first task is to produce a meaningful text.

Cittānubodhaśāstra 1.3 (ed. Pandey)

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
yad ādyaṃ pīyūṣaṃ nijakaragataṃ maunam abhito
vihāy*etaś* cintārasarasikatāṃ *yāmi* vivaśaḥ //

Cittānubodhaśāstra 1.3 (Crit. edition)

*apekṣ*eyaṃ kā te sphura*ti na vijāne hṛdaya he*
*upekṣye saṃ*sāre marupadajalasphūrtisadṛśe /
yad ādyaṃ pīyūṣaṃ nijakaragataṃ maunam abhito
vihāy*aitac*cintārasarasikatāṃ *yāsi* vivaśaḥ //

Here the edition makes us believe that the first two lines are lost. But this is not the case. The manuscript reads a considerable part of the line, which I

have indicated in italic. The editor reads *yāmi* although she could have still read *hṛdaya he* in the manuscript. Since this is clearly a vocative, the almost homographical *yāsi* should have been preferred, whereas the reading *yāmi* prevents the reader from guessing at the sense. Here the author addresses his own mind.

This example illustrates some of the aspects of practical editing. If a text is too awkward, meaningless or the commentator needs extremely complicated interpretatory stunts to infuse sense into the text, it might well be corrupt, or the edition might be insufficient. It is important to train one's perception and remain open to different phenomena, as for instance, unusual local styles, non-standard forms of Sanskrit[16] etc.[17]

Often it is the amount of concurrent research that has to be conducted while editing a text that safeguards the quality of the edition more than a fixation on the best "method" to edit.[18]

The Maṅkhakośa

The following example does not concern an insufficient edition in the obvious sense. It is, however, a text that needs to be re-edited, and a case where only text-critical curiosity unearthed an astonishingly different text behind the edition.

The author Maṅkha (middle of the twelfth century) was discovered for European Indology at a rather late time. It was only in 1877 that Bühler drew attention to "a hitherto unknown poet",[19] whose *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*[20] was considered unique, especially for its historical and biographical passages, but nevertheless not much noticed outside his homeland Kashmir. Even later

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[16] The Indian tradition not only recognized Vedic (*ārṣa*) Sanskrit, but also Śaiva (*aiśa*), then there are Epic, Buddhist, and in later times "vernacular" varieties. [17] This is the whole point of discussing a perhaps bewildering or boring diversity of transmissional scenarios. [18] For the author, his revised date, and many other details, see Stanislav Jager: *Bhāskarakaṇṭhas Cittānubodhaśāstram: Kritische Edition des ersten Kapitels nebst Erstedition des Autokommentares*. Ph.D. dissertation, Marburg 2016. [19] Georg Bühler: *Detailed Report* [. . .], p. 50. [20] *Śrīmaṅkhakakaviviracitaṃ śrīkaṇṭhacaritam. Jonarājakṛtayā ṭīkayā sametam*. Ed. by Paṇḍit Durgāprasād and Kāśīnāth Paṇḍurang Parab. Bombay 1887. Reprint. Delhi 1983.

indological research did not treat his work in much detail,[21] a fact noted in the most recent work on the author's poem.[22] Maṅkha is at the same time author of a homonymic Sanskrit lexicon called *Anekārthakoṣa* or *Maṅkhakoṣa*, which was edited by Zachariae.[23] The dictionary is important, in so far as—as Vogel states—"Quite a few words and senses are registered here for the first time."[24]

The programmatic passage in the introductory section of the *Maṅkhakośa* is relevant in many respects. We hear that Maṅkha has used the lexicographers Bhāguri, Kātya, Halāyudha, Hugga, Amarasiṃha and Śāśvata, but also Dhanvantari's Nighaṇṭu.[25] He says that he used rules for grammatical gender, but also the "examples of good poets".[26] It is therefore more than likely that the commentary, in which these sources are documented, is from the pen of the author, especially since the commentary only starts with the dictionary part from stanza 9 onward, but ignores the introduction.

Fortunately most manuscript sources utilized by Zachariae for the edition of his text are still available and accessible. Those he received from M. A. Stein are in the Stein collection in the Bodleian Library Oxford, those procured by Georg Bühler and deposited by him in the Deccan College, Pune, are now available in the *Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*. Furthermore, the library of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, Halle, holds the literary bequest of Zachariae, where we find further materials on the *Maṅkhakośa*.

Zachariae was undoubtedly an excellent Sanskritist, and his edition produces a very reliable text. This can best be explained with an example.

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[21] With the following exceptions: Elisabeth Kreyenborg: *Der XXV. Gesang des Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam des Maṅkha: ein Beitrag zur altindischen Literaturgeschichte*. Münster 1930. Bankim Chandra Mandal, "Authorship and date of Maṅkhakośa." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 57 (1976): 160–166. Bankim Chandra Mandal: *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita. A Mahākāvya of Maṅkhaka*. Literary Study with an Analysis of Social, Political and Historical Data of Kashmir of the 12th Century A.D. Calcutta 1991. Bhagavatprasad Natvarlal Bhatt: *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam. A Study*. Baroda 1973. [22] See Walter Slaje: *Bacchanal im Himmel und andere Proben aus Maṅkha*. Wiesbaden 2015. [23] Theodor Zachariae: *Der Maṅkhakośa*. Herausgegeben mit Auszügen aus dem Commentare und drei Indices. Wien/Bombay 1897. (Reprint). Varanasi 1972. Theodor Zachariae, *Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Maṅkhakośa*. Wien 1899. [= Kl. Schr. 387–440]. [24] Claus Vogel: *Indian Lexicography. Revised and Enlarged Edition*. Ed. by Jürgen Hanneder and Martin Straube. München 2015, p. 334. [25] *bhāgurikātyahalāyudhahuggāmarasiṃhaśāśvatādikṛtān / kośān nirīkṣya nipuṇaṃ dhanvantarinirmitaṃ nighaṇṭuṃ ca* (3). [26] *liṅgānuśāsanāni ca vicārya lakṣyaṃ mahākavīnāṃ ca / kurute 'nekārthānāṃ śabdānāṃ maṅkhakaḥ kośam* (4).

विज्ञानमेतत्पिचुवक्त्रनिर्गतमित्यादौ पायौ उपहासविषयमेतत्

Ms. BORI 337/1875–6

Only an editor aware of likely misreadings when transcribing from Śāradā to Nāgarī will be able to guess the correct reading. Zachariae restores the text convincingly as:

> *vijñānam etat picuvaktranirgatam ityādau pāyau / upahāsa-viṣayam etat /*
>
> "This doctrine came out from the lower end"[27] – here [*picu* is used] in the sense of anus. [It means that] this [i. e. the doctrine] is ridiculous.

In the edition we read that Zachariae has merely given *extracts from the commentary*,[28] and a glance at the actual presentation of the edition makes one wonder about the principles of extraction or indeed the original form of the commentary.

I shall give 40cd as an example. In the edition it runs as follows:

> *mecakaṃ triṣu kṛṣṇe syāt pumāṃs tu śikhicandrake*
>
> "*mecaka*, in all three [genders] means "black", only the masculine means the eye on the peacock's tail."

The extract of the commentary on this passage in Zachariae's edition is:

> वर्कचामि ‖ [मेचक] शिखि° । मेचकिकुलकोलाहला । मेचकिनः शि-खिनः ‖ 40 ‖

Here the reader may rightly wonder how the full commentary may have looked like, for the extract is merely an abbreviation or condensation of the information contained therein. In the example *mecaka* in brackets has been added by the editor, but what about "*śikhi*" and the elision indicated by the

[27] Lit. "lower mouth". The context here seems different from the tantric one of *picuvaktra* as summarized by Shaman Hatley in: Dominic Goodall and Marion Rastelli (eds.): *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* III. Vienna 2013, sub voce. [28] Thus the English title page: *The Maṅkhakośa edited, together with extracts from the commentary* [. . .]

dot? Zachariae also says that he has not given all examples, most of which were very difficult to trace.

A glance at two Kashmirian manuscripts used by Zachariae reveals a surprisingly different text:[29]

> *kāminīcikuramecakaṃ tam ityādau triliṅgaḥ mecakikulakolāhaletyādau śikhicandrake*
>
> "Him, who is black through the hair of his beloved" thus and similarly in the three genders; [in the sense of] 'eye on the peacock's tail' there are passages like "the clamour of a group of peacocks [lit. those who have a *mecaka*]".

The addition *mecakinaḥ śikhinaḥ* is from another manuscript and seems to be merely explaining why a testimony for *mecaki* is used for defining *mecaka*.

We can now see Zachariae's approach. He has transformed the text of the commentary by changing the syntax and omitting examples he could not trace. Despite all warnings by Zachariae, this is an unusually invasive approach to editing a text. It saves space, but at the cost of virtually losing the text of Maṅkha. From the extracts we cannot even guess at how Maṅkha had formulated his commentary. Only after reading the particular manuscript that contains the beginning of the text (his Ms. B) one notices that the first paragraph of his abridged commentary actually contains the complete text. It is only when we read the introduction to his edition of the *Anekārthasamgraha of Hemachandra. With extracts from the Commentary of Mahendra*,[30] that we are given some information about the ideas underlying the extraction. Here a rationale for omitting some and retaining other examples is given, but if we look at the example of Maṅkha, we find that important quotations, even for otherwise unattested meanings, were silently elided.

In the passage quoted above the example for *mecaka* in the sense of "black" is altogether omitted. As a result, we cannot appreciate the technique used by the commentator, and potentially important information is lost. In the case of the suppressed example *kāminīcikuramecakaṃ* Zachariae has not been able to find the source and even with modern search engines there was as yet no

[29] I omit the details on the manuscripts and refer to the forthcoming edition. [30] Bombay 1893, p. xv.

result. But the unusual *cikuramecaka* occurs in *Mokṣopāya* 3.34.41b in the phrase *kālīcikuramecakī*. Since the *Mokṣopāya* originated in Kashmir two decades before Maṅkha, perhaps the compound *cikuramecaka* was a known phrase at least in Kashmirian Sanskrit.

Sometimes Maṅkha justifies meanings by what seems to be a common saying, not a literary quotation: the word *stoka* is well-attested in the sense of "little" etc., but Maṅkha gives a meaning *putra*,[31] which lexicographers might have regarded as doubtful, but the commentary suggests that the *kośakāra* considered this meaning to be in popular use—at least the quotation does not sound like a literary one:

> *alpe yathā stokaṃ vadan satyavādī iti / dhanyasya gṛhiṇaḥ stoko gṛhe khelati khelanaiḥ iti putre /*
>
> [*stoka* in the sense of] "little", as in [the quotation] "One who speaks little speaks the truth". [In the quotation] "In the house of a rich house-owner the son plays with playthings" [*stoka* is used] in the sense of "son".

These are but tiny examples to demonstrate how treacherous the thought that we already are in possession of Maṅkha's dictionary can be. Only an unabridged edition of Maṅkha's auto-commentary would enable us to utilize this lexicon as a source, thus no more effort need be made to explain why a re-edition is direly necessary.

What makes things worse or more interesting is that many of the supposedly 3400 quotations need to be traced. Since Maṅkha's time is fixed, we may even have a firm terminus ante quem for the texts quoted, and we may gain an impression of the kind and range of literature known to a highly educated author in twelfth-century Kashmir.

[31] *dame 'lpaputrayoḥ stokaḥ* 14c.

Some Text-Critical Principles in Practice

Examinatio

We shall start with §14 of Maas' *Textual Criticism*:[32]

> As a result of this *examinatio* we discover that the tradition is either (1) the best conceivable, or (2) as good as other conceivable traditions, or (3) worse than another conceivable but at all events tolerable, or (4) intolerable.

If the first case applies, the editor need not act, in the last case the passage has to be marked as corrupt or an emendation or conjecture has to be applied. The other cases are more complex. Here it is at the discretion of the editor to suggest a solution, or to assume that the style of the author is not as one suspected, or that he is using unusual words, has a lapse in style etc. Here conjecture can be a dangerous instrument that may weed out historically correct readings and produce ahistorical ones. And here the maxim of the *lectio difficilior* can be usefully applied to provide the argument for keeping the unusual reading in the text. But we can see, following Maas' distinctions, that we can apply this argument only in the middle range, never to case (4), for which Chadwick's rule as quoted above should apply.[33]

The same kind of reasoning is applicable to the rule *sthitasya gatir cintanīyā*. It can be understood as a cautionary remark not to emend too quickly, not to change, for instance, a phrase in Kālidāsa or Bhartṛhari's Śatakas, because it contains an un-Pāṇinian form, for it might still be original, or to change its wording to suit poetological taste.[34] Unfortunately, the maxim was misused to allow for and even justify implausible texts. The project of editing the *Mokṣopāya* has yielded many instances, where the text of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is actually meaningless, but nevertheless commented upon by Ānandabodhendra, as if it would make sense. Such a commentary may be no more than a desperate attempt to squeeze the remaining sense out of passage that was disfigured in the course of transmission and would have to be put into the fourth category in Maas' list. The detrimental effect of this is that the

[32] Op. cit., p. 10. [33] "The principle *lectio difficilior potior* does not extend to nonsense". [34] See the work of Goodall mentioned above, p. 99.

reader is tricked into believing that this is still a meaningful text, since the commentator apparently managed to make sense of it.

A similar phenomenon is found in modern editing too. Sometimes editors print a text that simply does not make sense and cannot possibly have been written by a sane author. Such a text is bound to be confusing. Here the rules demand that a text which is doubtful and cannot be "healed by" conjecture should be marked as corrupt.

In the following we shall look at some examples, which show that by ignoring this examinatio one can go wrong as an editor in presenting a text that cannot possibly have been written by the author, and cannot be used for further studies of the work. In such cases a re-edition of a text can become as urgent a task as the first edition.

Ratnakaṇṭha's Sūryaśataka

The *Sūryaśataka*, also called *Ratnaśataka*, was composed by the Kashmirian author Ratnakaṇṭha, who lived in the 2nd half of the seventeenth century.[35] Ratnakaṇṭha is known as a commentator, and as a scribe he is famous in Kashmir for his fast handwriting, which is unsurprisingly quite difficult to read. Ratnakaṇṭha is a spectacular case from another angle, since we have from his hand an autograph of his commentary on the Haravijaya, one of the very few autographs in Sanskrit editing.[36]

I can be short on the details, which have been presented in our published edition. After we had almost completed the work, a colleague from Delhi alerted us to a previous edition of the text by Veda Kumari Ghai. As it turned out, Ghai had used the same manuscript, we had merely an additional apograph at our disposal, so we were not sure whether our work still met the criterion West gives in his handbook of criticism: "Is your edition really necessary?"[37] Naturally we were above all curious to see what she had read

[35] The text of the *Sūryaśataka* was edited by Stanislav Jager and myself, together with two more Stotras by the same author: that of the *Sūryarahasya* was the result of Jager's master thesis, and in the end Alexis Sanderson added one further text by the same author. See Jürgen Hanneder, Stanislav Jager and Alexis Sanderson: *Ratnakaṇṭhas Stotras. Sūryastutirahasya, Sūryaśataka und Śambhukṛpāmanoharastava*. München 2012. [36] See above, p. 76. [37] West: *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, p. 61.

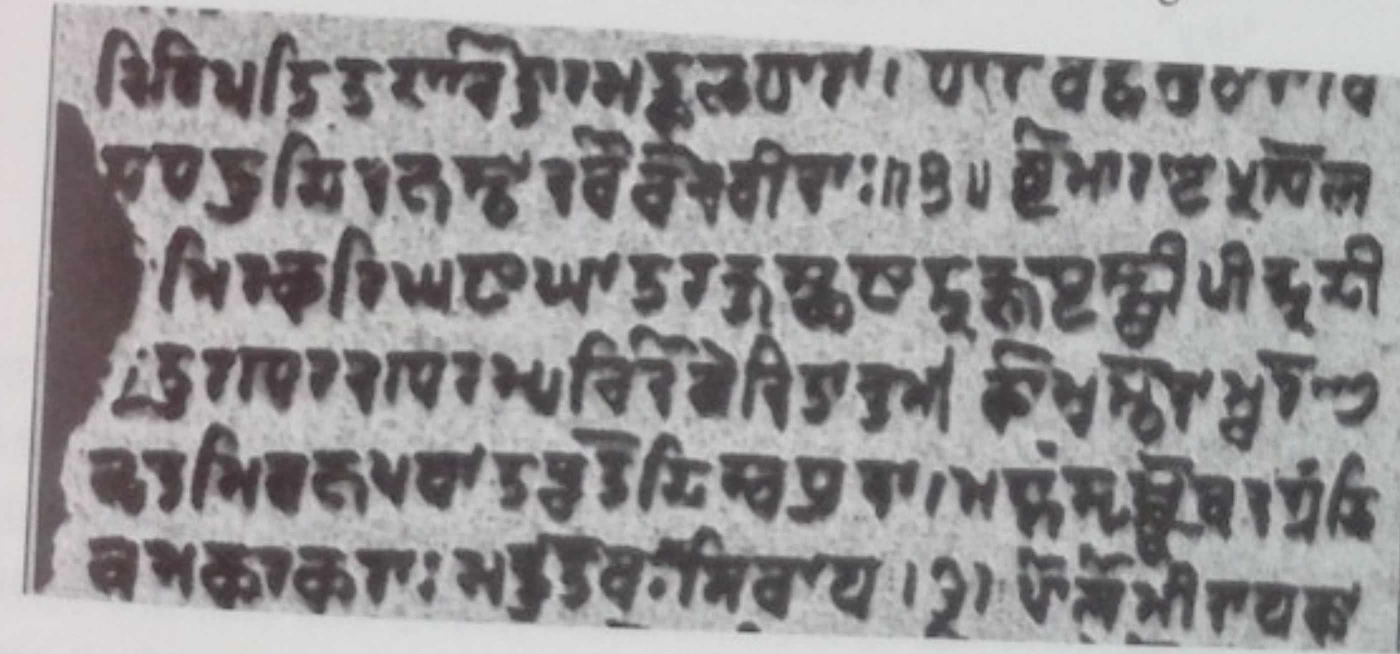
in problematic passages, especially since the text is often difficult and has lacunae. I will give her edition of the third verse as an example:

व्योमारण्यप्रखेलतिमिरकरिघटाघातरक्तश्छटार्द्राः
कुप्यद् द्वीपीन्द्रदीर्घतर खर नखर सृत्वरा ये नितान्तम्।
कौसुम्भेनाम्बरेणावृतमिव कृपया तन्वते दिग्वधूना-
मङ्गं दृष्ट्वैव नग्नं दिवसकरकराः सन्तु ते वः शिवाय ॥३॥

The readings given in her edition are:

3a timira con.] [. . .]*mira* B
3b dīrghatara con.] *dī*[. . .]*ttara* B

The relevant folio of the manuscript is printed in her book and we can see that the cause of the lacunae in the third verse is a broken margin.



Now a simple check of the metre shows that her first conjecture cannot be correct. She reads *prakhelatimira* and while *timira* is the obvious guess, the preceding syllable has to be long. Furthermore, the conjecture produces an awkward compound: are we to understand that the elephant (*kari*) of darkness (*timira*) is the play (*prakhela*—by the way not an attested form) in the wilderness of space? Do we really think the author wrote such a clumsy line? Was Ratnakaṇṭha, writing in the sixteenth century, still able to produce high quality classical Sanskrit? Some adherents of a death of Sanskrit would perhaps start to doubt.

Of course, Ratnakaṇṭha never wrote such a line. One has to read *prakhelattimira* and will thereby restore a more convincing meaning: the elephant

of darkness playing in the wilderness called space. Metre, compound and content are without blemish. But this is not all. As even the manuscript page reproduced in Ghai's work shows, we have to read *krudhyad* for *kupyad*, *spardhino* for *sṛtvarā*, and for the metrically wrong conjecture *dīrghatara* we propose *dīvyattara*. The result is a perfectly understandable verse:

> vyomāraṇya**prakhelat**timirakarighaṭāghāta**raktac**chaṭ**ārdra-**
> **krudhyad**dvīpīndra**dīvyattara**kharanakhara**spardhino** ye nitāntam
> kausumbhenāmbareṇāvṛtam iva kṛpayā tanvate digvadhūnām
> aṅgaṃ dṛṣṭvaiva nagnaṃ divasakarakarāḥ santu te vaḥ śivāya (3)

> The rays of the "day-maker" (the sun) match the resplendent
> (*dīvyattara*) hard claws of an angry tiger,
> covered with the blood from striking at the temples of the elephant "darkness", who had played in the wilderness called "sky".
> But when seeing the naked female bodies of the directions of space,
> they gracefully cover them with a red garment (/space),
> may they be auspicious for you. (3)

With the previous edition being full of misreadings and wrong conjectures, we hardly needed justification for producing a new edition. Without access to the same manuscript, we would have perhaps even assumed that the editor had other readings. From this perspective the use of previous editions as a mine for readings can be quite problematic.[38]

When looking at the manuscripts, we had one promising experience. The real accolade of the sophisticated editor comes when one of his conjectures is confirmed. Witzel gives an example in his article on textual criticism,[39] where

[38] Dimitrov has given one impressive example to caution against assuming a simple relationship between manuscript and edition. In the edition of the *Kāvyādarśa* by Thakur and Jha, he has counted more than sixty instances of differences between the edition and the *codex unicus*, on which it is based—on one page! Especially in editions without critical apparatus, it is virtually impossible to establish the text of the manuscript. See Dragomir Dimitrov: *Śabdālaṃkāradoṣavibhāga. Die Unterscheidung der Lautfiguren und der Fehler.* Vol. 1. Wiesbaden 2011, p. 51. [39] Michael Witzel: *How to enter the Vedic mind.* online publication: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-savifadok-1090

a conjecture of his turned out to be exactly true: After conjecturing the beginning of a text he had edited from microfilm, he could finally see the original manuscript and noticed that a page had folded in when being microfilmed. When he opened it, it confirmed his conjecture. In such instances one feels philology is not just readings and guess work, but seems to open up, as far as possible, a direct path to the past.

Eliminatio codicum descriptorum

The following example affords an interesting case for discussing the validity of one of the important rules of stemmatic editing, which is usually termed *eliminatio codicum descriptorum.* One aspect of this rule is easily understood and seems logical, but some of its implications are so problematic that we may again question its general and universal applicability.

The rule is formulated by Maas as follows:[40]

> It will now be obvious that a witness is worthless (worthless, that is, *qua* witness) when it depends exclusively on a surviving exemplar or on an exemplar which can be reconstructed without its help. A witness thus shown to be worthless must be eliminated.

In other words, if a manuscript can be proven to be a copy of an existing manuscript available to the editor, then he can dispense with the apograph, that is, exclude it from consideration, since according to the logic of Maas a scribe will only add errors, which can have no role in the establishment of the text. So far, so good.

But how do we know whether a manuscript is the copy of an existing manuscript? The scribe may say so, but this—at least in Sanskrit editing—is extremely uncommon.[41] If Maas is correct, then the manuscript should exhibit the text of its exemplar (*ādarśa*), with an addition of the scribe's own errors, which may be many, or few, or in rare cases—if the scribe committed not a single error—none. Since the last case is unlikely, Maas has phrased the rule as follows:[42]

[40] *Textual Criticism*, p. 2. [41] There are, however, examples, as the manuscript described by Dragomir Dimitrov in his "Ratnākaraśānti's *Chandoratnākara* and Tathāgatadāsa's *Chandomāṇikya*. In: *Indica et Tibetica. Festschrift für Michael Hahn.* Ed. Konrad Klaus and Jens-Uwe Hartmann. Wien 2007, p. 117. [42] *Textual Criticism*, p. 4.

> If a witness, J, exhibits all the errors of another surviving witness, F, and in addition at least one error of its own ('peculiar error'), then J must be assumed to derive from F.

This formulation has sparked critical comments, like that of Pasquali that he misses the word "accident", which nowhere occurs in Maas booklet. He says that a single error is unlikely to prove anything.

The problem with this rule is that it is unclear what is gained by it. If one has to collate the whole manuscript in order to assess that it has one more error than its source, then the whole process will merely relieve the apparatus from an irrelevant siglum (all readings except one would be identical with its source) and not much is gained in terms of efficiency.

With an additional remark Maas shows where the main application of the rule could lie:[43]

> Sometimes a witness can be shown to depend on another surviving witness from a single passage, viz., if the peculiar error in the descendant is clearly due to the external state of the text in the surviving exemplar; e. g. where physical damage to the text in the exemplar has caused the loss of letters or groups of letters, and these letters are missing in the descendant without any visible external cause [. . .]

It is of course only in such cases that the *eliminatio* becomes an effective tool to reduce the number of witnesses. But we now know that in cases of contamination even this type of *eliminatio* is impossible, since then every manuscript may have picked up a genuine reading. In practice the apograph may still contain readings from another manuscript in some places and thus text critics have tended to be more careful, or even decreed that in practice "establishing the exclusive derivation of one manuscript from another is not merely difficult but impossible."[44]

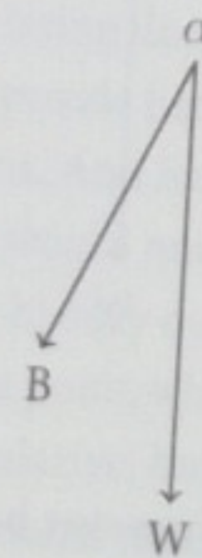
For this dilemma our edition of the *Ratnaśataka* provides a unique example, which shows that thinking about the individual cases is more important than any of the text-critical rules.

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[43] *Textual Criticism*, p. 4. [44] Michael D. Reeve: "Eliminatio Codicum Descriptorum: A Methodological Problem". In: *Editing Greek and Latin Texts*. New York 1989, p. 1.

We felt exhilarated when some time after preparing the edition we suddenly noticed that there was a second manuscript in the Welcome Library in London and that this manuscript confirmed some of our conjectures, even though they were minor and hardly sophisticated ones. Manuscript "W", by the way, was not only a fairly complete manuscript, almost without lacunae, the text and the orthography seemed to be of a superior quality. In the course of editing the readings of the new manuscript were almost always adopted.

After reading on, however, our joy was somewhat dampened by the following observations: In 43a ms. B has the lacuna *ja . . . ti*. W reads *jayati*, which cannot be correct, since we have another verb *stāt*—no doubt easily overlooked—in the verse. There are also some parts of the akṣara left, which suggest more likely *jagati*, which was our reading. Since the margins of all folios of B are broken, it has regularly recurring lacunae. W, on the contrary, presents a complete text and has fewer errors. An application of Maas' rules would lead us to a stemma, in which B could be an apograph of W, but since it is clearly much younger, we would rather construe something like the following:



The clue to the real state of affairs came later in the text. In 67c, we found a matching lacuna in both manuscripts: *dīpti . . . sāpti*. This would no doubt be a binding error in a normal transmission, the common sources must have had exactly this gap, which makes the verse unmetrical, only that in one manuscript it is caused by a physical defect, namely, the broken margin. The last piece of evidence needed we encountered near the end of the text, where in 91c both sources read *mā . . . pala*. In B the reason is the usual broken margin, in W we find the following:

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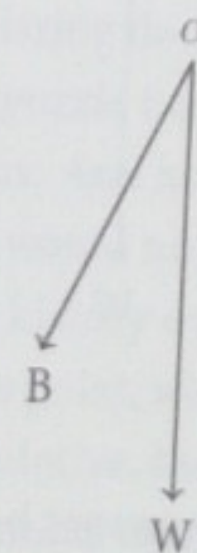
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In the middle of the third line the scribe has apparently left and thus marked a gap in his exemplar, a gap, which is identical with the one caused by the broken margin in B.

Now we could put the pieces together: Our almost complete manuscript W was an apograph of B, otherwise it could not have exactly the same gap as the damaged manuscript. A stemma would look quite unexpected, actually the opposite of what the normal rules about the distribution of error would dictate:

B



W

Producing such a stemma could however be misleading, since we have good reasons not to follow it. If this were a normal stemma, what we would have to do is to dismiss the apograph W, which has demonstrably no other source than B, merely conjectures. It could be like another of those "cooked manuscripts".

But the Pandit who prepared the manuscript with so much care tried to make absolutely reasonable emendations and conjectures. Since we have his source, we can easily see where he emended the text and this of course makes all the difference: We do not have to follow blindly an emendator's text. The conditions under which such emendations are being made need to be taken into account as well. Since we know the topic of the poem, the

way in which the author expresses himself, his use of compounds, phrases, ideas, imagery, this all narrows down our options. And, most importantly, in a metre with fixed quantity there are not so many meaningful alternatives for one or two missing syllables, if one has an idea what the author wanted to say. Thus, if we read about an elephant roaming the sky, who is killed by a tiger, a comparison for the sun, then the elephant is likely to stand for darkness, and there presumably only one word meaning "darkness" and starting with a short syllable and ending in *-mira* would fit. In other words, those conjectures are far from being wild guesses, they have a high probability and other editors would have found much the same solutions. For this reason the standard procedure, that is, to eliminate this manuscript, because "the scribe" conjectured, would be unreasonable. Rather, we should give credit to the unknown scribe as a true editor and be grateful for his sensible conjectures, which go a long way to restoring our text. We would, however, not have noticed the true state of affairs, had there not been longer gaps, where our editor could not find a good conjecture and marked the gap as found in his exemplar. This by the way shows his caution when dealing with the text. Here we have a good example of the treatment of a text by a transmitter who acted very much like a modern editor would, apart from the missing documentation of his activity. Had one piece of the admittedly simple puzzle been missing, we would have come to the wrong stemmatic conclusions. And had the older manuscript been lost or replaced with an apograph, we would not have seen the broken margin and this would have pushed the real history out of sight.

If you can follow me up to this point, which is I think fairly non-speculative, I would like to ask a more speculative, but at least to my mind, a rhetorical question. Are such editors exceptional cases or is it simply their cautious work that makes them difficult to spot? It may be rare that a given manuscript is the copy of such an editor, as in our case, and just a few copies later it would show its own share of scribal errors. I would argue that transmissions, where we regularly find meaningful variants, but not many significant errors, have undergone such processes of editing. In such cases there should be a general scepticism about the applicability of stemmatics.

Text-Critical Theory

Text-critical theory is a multi-faceted phenomenon. In the best case it widens our horizon and sharpens the perception, so that one can grasp phenomena which without such awareness would have escaped us.

In other cases theory leads a life of its own, divorced from any application. There are no real conclusions to be drawn from it for editing, and on the reverse side concrete editions are no more the material from which it feeds. Then there are all sorts of intermediate constellations. The following is quoted as a case of a theoretical jargon intended to describe "Varianz":[1]

> Gleichwohl erfordert es die durch Vokalität bestimmte Situationalität und Institutionalität des mittelalterlichen Textes, kulturhistorisch orientierte Fragen nach der Genese, dem Status und der Funktion insbesondere der Varianz in volkssprachlichen Texten des Mittelalters zu stellen [. . .] Unter diesem letzten Aspekt erneuert jeder einzelne mittelalterliche Codex – als 'Redeereignis' – in der spezifischen Situation, in der er Wirkung erzielt, die Präsenz jener Textbedeutungen, die – rekonstuierbar oder nicht – letztlich aus verschiedenen Vorlagen stammen mögen. In editionstheoretischer Hinsicht folgt aus dieser Untersuchungsperspektive, dass "alle schriftlichen Aufzeichnungen des Textes [. . .] als 'prinzipiell gleichrangige kommunikative Handlungen' angesehen werden müssen. Diesem Sachverhalt wird in der jüngeren altgermanistischen Editionswissenschaft auch durch den Begriff des offenen oder unfesten Textes Rechnung getragen.

Here the outcome is that we may stop editing or searching for a meaningful text, we should rest content with reading manuscripts as individual instances of a "Redeereignis". But the main critique one could level at this type of presentation of the problems faced by an editor of medieval literature is that

[1] I will not attempt a translation, because it is nearly impossible to imitate the terminology. The passage contains an abstract formulation utilizing all the catchwords of this school of thought for what might just be expressed as: Do not edit critically multi-archetype texts. The text can be found at www.edkomp.uni-muenchen.de/CD1/A1/Altgerm-A1-MB.html.

it uses rhetoric in order to veil any possible outcome that could otherwise be of practical value.

It probably has become clear in the preceding pages that it is very instructive, if not to some extent indispensible, to become acquainted with the literature on the theory of editing and textual criticism from different disciplines. Even if some of these works now strike us as too transient, especially with the rhetoric of close anticipation, of pronouncements, or of breakthroughs—which according to what we know now may not have happened—, these works are mostly useful, because they force us to rethink indological practices in the light of discussions in other fields. We may tend to think that other philologies will have not much to offer for Sanskrit philology, that their situation is entirely different, and this may be often the case. But there are interesting exceptions.

A good example for this is McGann's *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. The author, who wrote in 1983, thinks that this was a time, when scholars were "too busy exploring the fault lines of what they already know and experimenting with new models and ideas"[2] as a consequence of which no reliable guides were being written.

Some decades later, from our present perspective, this anticipation of imminent developments can be put to rest. It seems to be a dynamic pattern similar to, if not unconsciously modelled after Christian eschatological expectations. There too the predictions are not fulfilled, but after some time renewed. Still only the cynic would have anticipated the speed or frequency of new announcements and the short expiry dates of those already announced. Some years after McGann the so-called "New Philology", which will be dealt with later, arose and changed again everything, or so it seemed.

However, having said that, McGann's keen observations are still highly instructive.[3] The main thrust of his "critique" concerns the concept of authorial intention in editing modern works. For understanding the concept, its problems and limitations, we need to take as our main examples not works from antiquity, where we have manuscripts written many centuries after the author, and can only speculate on how the author wished to present his text, but works, where we do have the author's manuscripts as submitted to the

[2] Jerome McGann: *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. Chicago 1983, p. 2. [3] This is not so say that these observations are spectacularly novel.

publisher, a printed version produced by a publisher, a second revised edition, and any amount of additional versions, for all of which "normal", meaning here classical, textual criticism cannot possibly apply, because the author has written all of them. For a classical editor all manuscripts, prints, etc. by the author would have to be regarded as archetypes or even autographs, and the problem is suddenly not one of misprints—scribal errors being of course mostly irrelevant—, but of versions with equal authenticity. Apparently one of the striking examples for this are some of Byron's works, which exist in "multiple manuscripts, multiple corrected and uncorrected proofs, a trial edition, a whole series of early editions at least three of which are known to have been proofed and revised by Byron".[4] In such cases one "finds it difficult to accept the idea that one of these texts, and presumably an early manuscript, represents the author's final intentions".[5]

We have already spoken about the problem that specific genres and transmissional scenarios need different methods and rationales for editing. Following the "best manuscript" or indeed a single manuscript might be extremely naïve in editing a classical Sanskrit text, but can be the last resort when editing some Buddhist Sūtras. In indological editing one has rightly distinguished different areas with their own rules.[6] In Vedic and Epic literature we have to work and struggle with the concept of oral literature versus manuscript culture, in a large portion of "classical" Sanskrit literature the criticism of Latin classics is the closest parallel and therefore may apply. And we know that there is no real counterpart to modern, in the European sense of print culture, philology for Sanskrit.[7]

Since we know so little about the background of Indian authors, we have become used to this type of compartmentalization and stopped looking further. Thus, in the field of classical Sanskrit editing, where we have no autographs, we work on the assumption that the author's will can still be inferred and that this assumption may guide us through the transmission. But we are not equally ready to work on the assumption of individual authorship in

[4] McGann: *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, p. 31f. [5] Op. cit., p. 32. [6] Oskar von Hinüber: "Der vernachlässigte Wortlaut. Die Problematik der Herausgabe buddhistischer Sanskrit-Texte." In: Kurt Gärtner (ed.): *Zur Überlieferung, Kritik und Edition alter und neuerer Texte.* Mainz 2000, p. 17–36. [7] An exception would be the question taken up recently by Manu Francis on the influence of early prints on Indian manuscript culture.

Purāṇic or Epic literature which appear more likely to be multi-archetypal "bardic" texts, slightly changed and adapted to the circumstances at every new recitation.[8]

McGann proves his point by taking as an example an author, in whose case we—unlike in Sanskrit editing—actually know the circumstances of his activity: the case of Byron's "Windsor Poetics",[9] which has a quite unexpected transmission.

> The number of versions of this epigram nearly correspond to the number of extant copies, of which there are many. The character of the piece explains the editorial problems it raises. A political poem ridiculing the Prince Regent and monarchal authority in general, the poem was not written for publication, but for private circulation in manuscript form, chiefly among Byron's friends and the Whig circles of his period. Byron gave copies to several friends and acquaintances who shared his political views, and he expected that the epigram would be more widely disseminated as the further copies were made from the originals and from the secondary copies as well. Byron is directly responsible for at least three versions, but the work is of such a character that it can hardly be said to lie under his sole authority in any case. They exist in a state analogous to (though not identical with) the state in which traditional ballads descend to us.

With this introductory example we shall briefly summarize the American discussion on the copy-text theory and the construction of authorial intention. The idea is that in cases of multiple authorized versions, we need to select one version as the basis of our edition: the so-called "copy-text". Obvious candidates are the author's manuscript before the publisher corrected and typeset it, or the first printed edition (that means, including the modification made during the project of publication), or any later edition. Here McGann's

[8] About the question whether Purāṇas can be critically edited, see the prolegomena to the critical edition of *The Skandapurāṇa* 1. Adhyāyas 1–25. Ed. R. Adriaensen, H. T. Bakker and H. Isaacson. Groningen 1998. [9] Jerome McGann: *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism.* Chicago 1983, p. 69.

critique is worth reading, for it makes us aware of the problems involved in such assumptions:[10]

> When an author's manuscript is preserved, this has paramount authority, of course. Yet the fallacy is still maintained that since the first edition was proofread by the author, it must represent his final intentions and hence should be chosen as the copy-text. Practical experience shows the contrary.

It is tempting to simply reformulate the aim of an edition to circumvent some of the problems. Tanselle has stated that "the aim of the editor is to establish the text as the author wished to have it presented to the public",[11] which alleviates the problem that submitted manuscript and printed text may differ, but is more complex, when the texts underwent censorship. Positive examples would be an author who willingly accepted what the proof-reader, publisher or printer suggested as corrections to his manuscript, the counter-example would be a text that was disfigured by the editor, publishing house, or it was printed without proof reading, a phenomenon only too well-known to academics in some disciplines.

The obvious problem which such editions have to address is that all texts are equally authorial, so one has to elect a main source one choses to follow and a guideline "at points of variation where one cannot otherwise reach a decision."[12]

McGann's first solution of the problem of publication is this:[13]

> "Final authority" for literary works rests neither with the author nor with his affiliated institution; it resides in the actual structure of the agreements which these two cooperating authorities reach in specific cases.

In editorial practice this does not help much. And even worse, in McGann's final analysis the concept of authorial intention itself vanishes:[14]

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[10] McGann: *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, p. 19. [11] McGann: *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, p. 32. [12] Op. cit., p. 28. [13] Op. cit., p. 54. [14] Op. cit., p. 56f.

> The idea of a finally intended text corresponds to the "lost original" which the textual critics of classical works sought to reconstruct by recension. Both are "ideal texts"—that is to say, they do not exist in fact—but in each case the critics use this ideal text heuristically, as a focussion device for studying the extant documents. Both classical and modern editors work toward their ideal text by a process of recension that aims to approximate the Ideal as closely as possible [. . .]
>
> For the critic of modern texts, the classical model upon which his own procedures are based frequently does not suit the materials he is studying, and has often served, in the end, to confuse his procedures. Because this textual critic actually possesses the "lost originals" which the classical critic is forced to hypothesize, his concept of an ideal text reveals itself to be—paradoxically—a pure abstraction, whereas the classical critic's ideal text remains, if "lost", historically actual.

We have already seen in the indological examples that the assumption of a "lost original" of a certain sophistication is a, perhaps elusive, expectation, but one without which we cannot properly edit:[15]

> Nevertheless, the concept of the critical edition, so called, clearly induces the illusion among scholars that the chief obstacles standing in the way of the reconstitution of an original text lie in the past, with its accumulated corruptions and interfering processes. The critical editor enters to remove those obstacles and recover the authoritative original. The previous examples show, however, that such a scholarly project must be prepared to accept an initial (and insurmountable) limit: that a definitive text, like the author's final intentions, may not exist, may have never existed, and may never exist at any future time. Editors and textual critics may have to confront—do in fact confront all the time—a specific number of different early texts, or versions, which incorporate a

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[15] Op. cit., p. 89f.

now historically removed process of production and reproduction from which one can choose as a base text one of a number of optional versions.

Perhaps this may come as a shock for a Sanskrit editor. If we cannot really assume that the author has written one version, why should we strive for finding the best reading? But even if we knew in a specific case that an old-Indian author had not written a text for publication, but given it as a lecture three times in slightly different ways and that students had noted down the three versions. We would still try to give the reader a single reading edition, rather than a genetic edition showing the development of the topic from one lecture to the next. If you think that with respect to Sanskrit literature this is pure theory, I would like to point to the analysis of some Buddhist texts from the so-called Pramāṇa tradition, for which Helmut Krasser has developed the idea that their peculiarities are best explained by the assumption that "that these texts, like the digressions in the P[rajñā]P[radīpa], were written down by students on the basis of a teacher's oral instructions. Thus, these texts represent first-hand information about daily life in Indian Buddhist monasteries of the sixth century, giving us a fascinating glimpse of the education system of that time."[16]

Again, let me close with the observation that this does not fundamentally change our approach: we still have to edit on the assumption that there was only one text. But in some cases the above observations can heal an overt security that "this only can be the text of the author". It seems, we have to reckon with the possibility that he may have changed his mind—a cautionary tale against entertaining too simplistic ideas about authors and their texts, and just one example how one can benefit from reading widely in textual criticism.

"New Philology"

Since a couple of decades every discussion of philology and editing has to include the so-called "New Philology". Predictably its status did not remain

[16] See Helmut Krasser: "How to Teach a Buddhist Monk to Refute the Outsiders. Text-critical Remarks on some Works by Bhāviveka". In: *Dhīḥ* 51 (2011), p. 49. I am very grateful to Isabelle Ratié for alerting me to this.

stable, because newer philologies have appeared since. But the "New Philology" has produced quite a stir and is an interesting didactic episode about the rise and fall of (text-critical) theories.

The origin of "New Philology" is usually traced to one monographical work by Cerquiligni,[17] but mainly in hindsight. The founding document of the new school was rather an issue of the journal *Speculum*,[18] and the details are not without interest. In an *Editor's Note* Luke Wenger explains that the editor Stephen G. Nichols wished to provoke a programmatic positioning of invited authors by asking questions like: "Have medieval studies become irrelevant? Do medievalists speak a (conservative) language of their own, addressing antiquarian concerns of interest to no one but themselves?" Eventually these questions were put to a group of participants that were surely not aware of forming a new school,[19] and the whole exercise converged in an over-arching topic "Is there a new philology?" This genesis may sound familiar to anyone who has planned interdisciplinary symposia or similar events that had to be fitted into a catchy, innovative sounding title. In the end the editor was convinced that there was a "New Philology" and he could adduce as proof that so many scholars had dealt with the topic. That they were responding to *questions about a new philology*, and importantly that their responses were not always positive, did not seem to matter.

Whether we regard this process as an orchestrated political move to produce a new school, or an accidental combination of events that were then cleverly exploited, in any case an analysis of the process is instructive for every academic, for one may easily oneself become the founding member of a new movement without being aware of it. The process started with a question, merely a Leitmotiv for a conference. But then the hardly surprising fact that participants dealt with the theme was taken as proof for its virulent existence, although participants disagreed on many points. The perception of coherence and thereby the creation of a school was part of the process of reception, but cleverly projected back by the editor, who spoke of a "New Philology".

The politics of this process is not without interest. Firstly, common sense tells us that when you assemble a group of scholars it is not likely that a

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[18] Volume 65.1 (1990). [19] "The contributors do not represent a particular school or tendency". NICHOLS in his introduction, p. 9.

question as "Is there a new philology?" will be answered unequivocally, and this is also what has happened. Here it was apparently enough that some participants reacted positively to the question. The politics of the name of the movement is also important. When within an academic subject "x" suddenly a "new x" is declared, then this implicitly declares the rest of x to be "old x". Of course the term could be used in a variety of ways: In German usage the term "new philologies" is understood in the sense of philologies of "new" European languages, as opposed to the classical philologies dealing with Latin and Greek. But when used in new combinations the adjective "new" is inevitably understood in the non-technical, obvious sense. This political stratagem was used long ago in Indology when the GDR coined the term "Modern Indology" as a claim to academic superiority over the "old" Indology located in Western Germany.

In hindsight the creation of the "New Philology" makes the impression of an arranged revolution with moderately motivated demonstrators. But in the introduction to the volume it is made clear that the intention was actually one of self-defense:[20]

> In medieval studies, philology is the matrix out of which all else springs. So we scarcely need to justify the choice of philology as a topic for the special forum to which Speculum, in a historic move, has opened its pages. On the other hand, if philology is so central to our discipline, why should one postulate a "new" philology, however ironically? While each contributor answers this question in a different, though complementary, way, the consensus seems to be that medieval philology has been marginalized by contemporary cognitive methodologies, on the one side, while within the discipline itself, a very limited and by now grossly anachronistic conception of it remains far too current. This version, formulated under the impulse of political nationalism and scientific positivism during the second half of the nineteenth century, continues to circumscribe the "discipline" of medieval studies. The forum presented here undertakes to explore and interrogate presuppositions underlying current philological practices.

[20] Nichols: "Introduction". In: *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), p. 1.

The new philology is therefore not so much a new method, but merely a renewal in the face of the critique levelled at it from the surrounding academic subjects that think that everything created in nineteenth-century Europe is nationalist and positivist and therefore needs to be rejected. The whole controversy appears to be a specifically North-American fixation on European theory with very culture-specific dichotomies between the bad and the good, usually French twentieth-century theorists.[21]

This urge to bypass the "bad" has led many of these movements to a roll-back before the nineteenth century, and it is interesting to see where they land. In the introduction to the *Speculum* volume, we read:

> What is "new" in our enterprise might better be called "renewal", renovatio in the twelfth-century sense. On the one hand, it is a desire to return to the medieval origins of philology, to its roots in a manuscript culture where, as Bernard Cerquiglini remarks, "medieval writing does not produce variants; it is variance."

We get the impression that the new movement is a desperate attempt to defend philology in an untoward academic environment: "Medievalists are frequently viewed by modernist colleagues as hostile or indifferent to contemporary theory."[22] New Philology appears above all to be a phenomenon within an academic culture, in which philology has become a term of abuse, where a complete abandoning of the term has been recommended in 1948. This at least highly ambivalent, if not overtly hostile attitude has to this date led scholars to pretend that they are not philologists, whereas according to European standards they would naturally be.

This North-American ban on the term is producing a schizophrenic situation in some German University departments, where we find the term philology everywhere except in the English title of the section dealing with English and American literature. Apparently American scholars would be as confused to be called "philologists", as German visitors to the USA, who

[21] Malicious gossip has it that the real cause for this selection of sources is the availability of some key texts in English translations in University textbooks. [22] Nichols, Introduction, p. 1.

when asked about their "race" at the imigration office are usually at a loss to identify it.[23]

As an indologist teaching in Marburg I was especially amused about the notion in the *Speculum* volume that one had to leave behind the narrow confines of old European study rooms as in Marburg, as an epitome of the old philology. But at the same time romance scholars continuously refer to Spitzer, Auerbach, and Curtius, who have their fixed places in many of the "new(er) philologies". All of them taught in Marburg.[24]

In the end the arguments come down to a very simple point, which is visible already in the subtitle to the introduction,[25] and which Nichols puts into the mouth of Auerbach: "philology represented a technological scholarship made possible by a print culture. It joined forces with the mechanical press in a movement away from the multiplicity and variance of a manuscript culture [. . .] The high calling of philology sought a fixed text as transparent as possible, one that would provide the vehicle for scholarly endeavor but, once the work of editing accomplished, not the focus of inquiry. It required, in short, a printed text."[26] After all the new philology wanted above all to issue the call *ad fontes*, a new reading of the sources:[27]

> It is that manuscript culture that the "new" philology sets out to explore in a postmodern return to the origins of medieval studies. If one considers only the dimensions of the medieval illuminated manuscript, it is evident that philological practices that have treated the manuscript from the perspective of text and language alone have seriously neglected the important supplements that were part and parcel of medieval text production: visual images and annotation of various forms (rubrics, "captions," glosses, and interpolations) [. . .] The medieval folio was not raw material for text editors and art historians working separately. It contained

[23] The concept of "race" itself has in post World War II education become an expression of Nazi ideology and consequently it has been dropped. By the way, the word and eighteenth-century concept of a "Caucasian race" is unknown to Germans. [24] "Gautier lamented that more Germans in a single town (Marburg) were working on the *chanson de geste* than were French scholars in all of France." Howard Bloch: "New Philology and Old French". In: *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), p. 40. [25] "Philology in a Manuscript Culture". [26] Nichols: "Introduction", p. 2. [27] Op. cit., p. 7.

> the work of different artists or artisans—poet, scribe, illuminator, rubricator, commentator—who projected collective social attitudes as well as interartistic rivalries onto the parchment. The manuscript folio contains different systems of representation: poetic or narrative text, the highly individual and distinctive scribal hand(s) that inscribe that text, illuminated images, colored rubrications, and not infrequently glosses or commentaries in the margins or interpolated in the text. Each system is a unit independent of the others and yet calls attention to them; each tries to convey something about the other while to some extent substituting for it.

What the author criticizes is the tendency to use manuscript sources merely for the texts they contain and ignore them for the further information they may provide, whether through their provenance, artistic quality, etc. An important observation, but not new, rather forgotten or ignored. For Nichols this emphasis on the material aspects of the texts is the gist of the *New Philology*; in another, later article he even substitutes the term in favour of a *material philology*.[28] So in a sense the creator of *New Philology* soon coined a newer, clearer term.

The rationale behind this emphasis on the material aspect of manuscripts is transparent and should be consensual. We might argue, for instance, that without having the text as a physical object in the original form in front of us, we cannot really recreate and appreciate the experience of reading it. Put in this abstract way, it sounds and probably is quite exaggerated. But there are rather concrete applications.

Let me first adduce an example from German philology. You may know that German was written and printed in the so-called German script, as opposed to the Latin script. Nowadays we associate this old German script with the NS regime, but it was actually abolished by the Nazis in the early 1940s with the absurd argument of having been created by Jews. From that time on German books had to be printed in Latin script, and old German handwriting was not taught any more.

[28] Stephen G. Nichols: »Why Material Philology«. In: *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 116, p. 10–30.

No one would suspect that anything could be lost through this transcription, since except a few details (there are two shapes for the "s" depending on whether it is within a word or at the end) both scripts have the same repertoire of characters. But as experts tell us, there is a pun in a text of Goethe, where a bird of prey, in German "Greif", says he does not want to be called an old man, German "Greiß". Only with the old spelling and in the old script it becomes clear that this is a visual joke: In German script, in which Goethe's work was printed, and which he obviously had in mind when writing this passage, "Greiff" and "Greiss" looked almost the same and could easily be confused.[29]

The old philologists and also Sanskritists were aware of this problem, and one should remember that Schlegel preferred the printing of Sanskrit in Devanāgarī, since he thought that the script is the skin of a language which we cannot remove without disfiguring it.[30]

Coming back to the "New Philology", we can see that behind the rhetoric of novelty lies a true concern that philology itself could be neglected.[31]

> What, then, about "New Philology"? The attitude and orientation I have described and called philology has, to be sure, at various times occupied various positions on the stage of humanistic scholarship—now standing in the limelight, now being pushed into the wings. If "New Philology" means that it is currently moving a little more to the front, that is all to the better [. . .]

Phrased in this way, new philology does not concern so much the invention of a new method, but rather the application of the known method. Similarly Howard Bloch:[32]

> In this paper I will argue not only that there is nothing new in the term "New Philology" (viz. Michele Barbi's Nuova filologia, Florence, 1938), but that the old philology was in fact a new philology

[29] Of course, if the ligatures were executed correctly by the printer, no confusion was possible, since at the end of the word "ss" coalesce into "ß". [30] Schlegel may not have thought about the complication that Sanskrit texts were written in a variety of Indian scripts. [31] SIEGFRIED WENZEL: "Reflections on (New) Philology". In: *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), p. 18. [32] "New Philology and Old French". In *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), p. 38.

> (viz. the Neo-Grammarians) with respect to that which had preceded. Use of the labels "new" and "old", applied to the dialectical development of a discipline, is a gesture sufficiently charged ideologically as to have little meaning in the absolute terms—before and after, bad and good—that it affixes. On the contrary, to the extent that calling oneself "new" is a value-laden gesture which implies that something else is "old" and therefore less worthy, it constitutes a rhetorical strategy of autolegitimation—with little recognition, of course, that the process itself of declaring oneself "new" is indeed very old, or at least as old, where the present case is concerned, as Vico's Nuova Scienza, which some see as the beginning of philological science. The qualifier "new" is by definition a relational term. Vico conceived of his science as new with respect to the philosophy of Descartes; Meyer-Lübke and the Neo-Grammarians, with respect to the Romantics; the Italian New Philologists, with respect primarily to the textual methodology of Joseph Bedier.

Here we have an instance of what I would term philological common sense. In fact there are only few articles in the volume that speak of a new philology in the literal sense of a complete break with the past. They are, as is usual, characterized by dramatic outlooks for the subject concerned, which can only be saved through a form of "Gleichschaltung" with the new trend:[33]

> If philology is to remain viable as the science entrusted with constituting medieval texts, then the New Philologist must proceed along different paths from those staked out by "Gaston Paris and the dinosaurs" and traversed by textual editors ever since. If it is to move beyond an atomistic approach to language and to grammar, aimed simply at "filling in little holes on the great map of knowledge," then the New Philologist must, insofar as possible, recontextualize the texts as acts of communication, thereby acknowledging the extent to which linguistic structure is shaped

[33] SUZANNE FLEISCHMANN: "Philology, Linguistics, and the Discourse of the Medieval Text". In: In: *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), p. 37.

> by the pressures of discourse. It is through these and similar gestures that we might ultimately reformulate philology's role in the field of medieval studies, adapting its praxis to the challenges of postmodernism.

If we step back, we can see that the so-called *New Philology* is a defensive movement within the coordinates of an interdisciplinary US-American environment and that it is supported mainly by scholars of Romance studies. Some details can be understood as a specific reaction to editorial problems in Old French Poetry.[34] Despite its implicit claim to describe a more universal phenomenon, it is based on observations in a rather limited field, but even within its confines these theories are by no means accepted. Especially in Germany this movement provoked a clear dismissal. The movement was some time after its inception analysed, and the result was that it was by no means "new", but presented merely a distorted view of the old, at least the authors appreciated that the discussion surrounding it was worthwhile.[35]

Apart from the problems concerning what is new and what is not, it seems above all the term philology that is causing most misunderstandings. The openness of the term has given rise to many unnecessary fights. For the opponents of philology it is a narrow term, usually limited to studying merely the language of a text, but not even its content, and never its context. For its adherents it includes all these fields and any other field that might shed light on the text. At least in the case of Sanskrit philology the practice of philology is of no worth unless it is informed by the specialized disciplines that suggest itself, whether it may be medicine, botany, history or archery. Philology has no fixed spectrum and it is certainly not limited to language or linguistics. The critique of philology is in my humble opinion an unfortunate misunderstanding.

But for some authors movements like the "New Philology" are counterproductive:

> The 'New Philology' has moved much (and many), it was (and remains) at the center of an ongoing debate. But in the German

[34] Martin-Dietrich Glessgen and Franz Lebsanft: "Von alter und neuer Philologie". In: Martin-Dietrich Glessgen et. al: *Alte und neue Philologie*. Tübingen 1997, p. 3. [35] Glessgen und Lebsanft: "Von alter und neuer Philologie", p. 2.

> research scene, which is orientated towards the history of transmission its methods have long been developed and applied. But this type of research has not been noticed by French and American "new philologists". It may have to do with the language barrier, but also that research in German tried its method on text that did not belong to the canon (prose, mainly religious prose). Perhaps the main reason is that research orientated towards the history of transmission in Old German Studies did not operate on the basis of theory, but orientated towards philological practice, and has therefore not produced manifests like Bernhard Cerquilignis 'Eloge de la Variante'.[36]

According to Schröder, this estimate is still too positive, since it underrates the destructive effect of the underlying theory. Especially the mentality of the insubstantial pronouncement of new theories was severly criticized, it was "an arrogant and self-ironic positioning"[37] which cleverly adopted Cerquiligni's reevaluation of variance, but ignored that the brilliantly written book could not provide any new insight to textual critics.[38] The charge is here one of cheap academic posturing without any substance, or to be exact the charge that the new philology could only have been invented by those who had not properly understood the old one. The authors explain that this "revolution" was one of philological dilettantes who, had they understood the practice of editorial philology, would not have tried to proclaim a new one with so much pomp.

[36] "Die 'New Philology' hat viel (und viele) bewegt, sie stand (und steht) im Zentrum einer regen Debatte. Aber: in der deutschen überlieferungsgeschichtlich orientierten Forschung sind ihre Methoden längst ausgeprägt und angewandt worden. Allerdings ist diese Forschung durch die französischen und amerikanischen 'neuen Philologen' kaum wahrgenommen worden. Das mag an der Sprachbarriere liegen, das kann auch daran liegen, daß die deutsch-sprachige Forschung ihre neuen Methoden zunächst an Texten erprobte, die nicht zum Kanon gehören (Prosa, vor allem geistliche Prosa). Vielleicht liegt der eigentliche Grund darin, daß die überlieferungsgeschichtlich orientierte Forschung der deutschen Altgermanistik kaum theoriebezogen operierte und – an der philologischen Praxis orientiert – keine Texte von Manifestcharakter hervorgebracht hat wie sie Bernhard Cerquilignis 'Eloge de la Variante'." Werner Schröder: "Die 'Neue Philologie' und das 'Moderne Mittelalter'". In: *Germanistik in Jena. Reden anläßlich des 70. Geburtstags von Heinz Mettke*. Jena 1996, p. 33–50. [37] "[. . .] arrogante und selbstironische Postulat". Martin-Dietrisch Glessgen und Franz Lebsanft: "Von alter und neuer Philologie", p. 1.
[38] Op. cit., p. 2.

> For the academic subject such tendencies always result in a larger problem, since philology—to paraphrase Luther—takes revenge on her slanderers. The experience gained through many years of handling sources cannot be substituted by anything. There is a considerable editorial minimum, which presupposes paleographical as well as codicological practice, a readiness to deal with philological details and a basic work on the epoch [. . .] That this minimum is not everywhere given, is our main problem.[39]

Examples from authors writing on indological editing but lack sufficient training and first-hand experience could also be quoted.

But let us take the program of material philology seriously and see what it amounts to. A good example would surely be the *Canterbury Tales Project*. The famous text has a complicated transmission that cannot be reduced to an "Urtext", a textbook instance for the idea of "variance". In the project this situation has been taken fully into account and as a result there is not one, but many texts. The editor will not, as theory demands, act as judge and privilege one version over the other. But in practice this means that this task is entrusted to the reader, who has to elect the version he wants to read. And of course he can always look at the manuscripts in a mouse click, since transparency with regards to the sources is one of the demands of *material philology*.

Quite obviously such model editions are an enormous advance in scholarship and digital editing, and they are of tremendous help for scholars conducting further research on the text. Who would not be enthusiastic about having not only a critical edition of a famous Indian text, but also the different versions and the relevant passage in any of the manuscripts available as scans? The edition would also have a didactic effect, since it would alert the general

[39] "Für das Fach entsteht aus solchen Richtungen immer ein größeres Problem, denn die Philologie rächt sich – gewissermaßen mit Luther zu reden – an ihren Verächtern. Die nur in jahrelangem Umgang mit den Quellen erworbene Erfahrung läßt sich durch nichts ersetzen: Es gibt ein hoch anzusetzendes editorisches Minimum, das paläographische und kodikologische Übung, philologische Detailfreude und epochenbezogene Grundlagenarbeit voraussetzt [. . .] Daß ein solches 'Minimum' nicht überall gegeben ist, das ist unser eigentliches Problem." Martin-Dietrich Glessgen und Franz Lebsanft: "Von alter und neuer Philologie", p. 8.

reader to the actual transmission of the work. But in practice the approach also creates a problem of its own:

> Undoubtedly an electronic multi-text edition cannot absolve from the academic task of producing a critical edition, nor can it substitute it. Seeing the manuscripts variance of a medieval text may provide fascinating reading experiences, but the great majority of those, who deal with editions of texts, would appreciate a reliable reading version and a print version.[40]

Summarily we can say that most theories about editing are likely to widen our perspective and are useful for practical editing. And it is true, as Pollock states,[41] that indologists do not tend to notice developments in other fields. If one, for instance, writes that it is "a remarkable and highly important phenomenon in the history of religio-philosophical literature that has still to be fully addressed by modern scholarship" that the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* has no "Urtext", but consists of a multitude of closely related recensions,[42] it must be said that the phenomenon is already well-known from Indian narrative literature, and that textual critics of European medieval texts have long known and analysed the problem, and discussed editorial solutions to it.

There are also, rarely quoted, instances of an overview on the different genres of Indian textual criticism with their respective methods,[43] which contain a great deal of indological experience, without being framed by noisy theoretical claims. I am therefore more doubtful that, as Pollock has suggested, a "higher-order hypothesis" for Indian textual criticism is such an urgent need:

[40] "Zweifellos kann eine elektronische Mehrtextedition nicht von den wissenschaftlichen Aufgaben einer kritischen Textausgabe entbinden, geschweige denn diese ersetzen. Der Blick auf die handschriftliche Varianz eines mittelalterlichen Textes mag faszinierende Lektüreerfahrungen vermitteln, doch wird die große Mehrzahl derjenigen, die mit Texteditionen zu tun haben, nach wie vor einen verbindlichen Lesetext und eine Buchausgabe [. . .] wünschen." Thus Michael Stolz in an internet review of several electronic editions of the works of Chaucer. (http://computerphilologie.uni-muenchen.de/jg01/stolz.html). [41] See below. [42] See Gregory Schopen: "On the Absence of Urtexts and Otiose Ācāryas". In: Gérard Colas and Gerdi Gerschheimer: *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique*. Paris 2009, p. 192, quoting Ruegg.
[43] Oskar von Hinüber: "Der vernachlässigte Wortlaut. Die Problematik der Herausgabe buddhistischer Sanskrit-Texte." In: Kurt Gärtner (ed.): *Zur Überlieferung, Kritik und Edition alter und neuerer Texte*. Mainz: Steiner 2000, p. 17–36.

> Related to this monadization is a widely-shared reluctance to compare phenomena across eras, genres, languages, or traditions, to draw broader conclusions from case studies, or to think self-critically about the kinds of theory—concerning language, texts, society, or history—that each of the essays, however superficially pretheoretical, actually embodies (none of the essays engages with contemporary work on textuality and philology; none, except for the introduction, betrays any familiarity with it). While I agree that it is too early to offer a general account of premodern Indian philology, it is not too early to begin to develop general principles about old and new philological practices. Many of the authors very helpfully gesture in that direction, but they too often refrain from explicitly formulating higher-order hypotheses – even the introduction seems indifferent to exploring larger findings, and to asking whether any connections or tendencies unite the essays.[44]

In view of the preceding description of the genesis of the "New Philology" and other similar movements I see no great practical advantage in this. At least for the practising editor a knowledge of the different methods, their common principles and incompatibilities is more important than to contrue an over-arching theoretical structure. Here details are quite important, even though they belong according to Pollock to "old philology".[45] But it is, I am afraid, exactly the details that matter, so merely announcing yet another new philology and forgetting about the old one will not do. Recently it has become fashionable also in Oriental Studies to announce new philologies every few years. In 2009 it was "Future Philology",[46] a term from a nineteenth-century German debate, the polemic nature of which was overlooked not only in the anglophone world, but even when the concept was reimported as the latest

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[44] Sheldon Pollock, Review of *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique*. In: *Journal Asiatique* 299.1 (2011), p. 440.

[45] "Occasionally the reader stares glassy-eyed at the presentation of a superabundance of evidence adduced merely to display rigor-and-thoroughness, the mantra of the old philology, that buries the object of analysis under a blizzard of empirical trivia and tests the commitment of even the sympathetic reader". Pollock, op. cit., p. 439.

[46] "Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World". In: J. Chandler and A. Davidson (Eds): *The Fate of the Disciplines*. Chicago 2009, p. 931–961.

fashion from New York to Berlin.[47] Then came "World Philology" (2015), and the next trend could be "Liberation Philology", which, as introduced by Pollock in a lecture, seems to implant a whole political program into philology.[48]

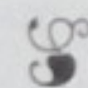
In this series of lectures I will abide by the title as my guideline and in the remainder provide one example of an author whose works are well worth editing.

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[47] "Zukunftsphilologie oder die nächste M[eth]ode". In: ZDMG 163.1 (2013), p. 159–172.

[48] Quoting from an internet abstract of a lecture, liberation philology implies: "balancing the claims of the inside and the outside of the text; supplementing postcolonialism with post-capitalism, or a concern over past wrongs with a concern for future rights; and finding way to meet, from our small philological locations as specific intellectuals, the obligation to construct 'a planet-wide inclusivist community.' " In the lecture, which is at present available on youtube, Pollock says that the topic could have also been called "post-capitalist philology" and it becomes clear that here philology is gearing up for improving the world, a "scholarship [. . .] aiming towards some different future". Since our aim here is much more modest, I will not elaborate, but merely mention that there is a further variation on the theme in Pollock's "Liberating Philology". In: *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* 1.1 (2015), p. 16–21.

Editing Sāhib Kaul's Works



The Author and His Works

The works of Sāhib Kaul, an author of seventeenth-century Kashmir, are almost a blind spot in the literary landscape of Kashmir. Merely his *Devīnāmavilāsa*, a highly poetical verse commentary on the *Bhavānīsahasranāma*, which he wrote at the age of 24, has so far been edited, his other works, a substantial corpus of Stotras, ritual manuals (*paddhati*) and other treatises, have practically remained inedita.

Many Kashmirian authors are not used to hiding their identity completely, sometimes they even disclose their biography quite freely. Abhinavagupta has given his biography in one chapter of his *Tantrāloka*, Maṅkha has given his in his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. Sāhib Kaul is no exception. He mentions the names of his works in the concluding verses to the chapters of the *Devīnāmavilāsa*, and many of these works survive in manuscript. Furthermore, there are manuscripts of a biography or perhaps better a hagiography of Sāhib Kaul (called *Janmacarita*), for which an expert in early Kashmiri is direly needed. The materials for this author are in other words extremely rich. Here is a list of his works:[49]

> *Devīnāmavilāsa* [edited in the KSTS], *Śivasiddhinīti*, *Gāyatrīmantrabhāṣya*, *Citsphārasārādvaya* [edition forthcoming], *Saccidānandakandalī* [edition forthcoming], *Śivaśaktivilāsa* [edition forthcoming], *Śārikāstava* [edition forthcoming], *Guruvṛttacintāmaṇi*, *Sahajārcanāṣaṣṭikā* [edition forthcoming], *Nijātmabodha* [edition forthcoming], *Candramaulīstava*, *Suprabhātastava*, *Gītāsāra*, *Jātakodāharaṇa*, *Kalpavṛkṣa* [edition forthcoming], *Kṛṣṇāvatāra*, *Śrīvidyānityāpūjāpaddhati*, *Śyāmāpaddhati* [edition forthcoming], *Hṛllekhāpaddhati*, *Janmacarita*.

Seeing that many of these works are apparently Stotras, we can perhaps explain why an edition has not been a priority for any editor. I am emphasizing this, because there is a tendency with some scholars to relegate such works to a second rank, behind proper philosophy or behind proper Kāvya. Stotras, it seems, are commonly viewed as a popular, less sophisticated genre.

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[49] The forthcoming edition referred to is my critical edition of the works of Sāhib Kaul.

In the eyes of many research scholars Sāhib Kaul may have a further shortcoming: it is clear that his own philosophy was not pure "Kashmir Śaivism", his works rather represent a mixture of Pratyabhijñā and Advaita Vedānta. This is admittedly not the favourite of many research scholars specializing on Kashmir Śaivism, or indeed some other branches of Indian philosophy, who had to free themselves and their field of study from the modern domination of Vedānta.[50]

On the other hand, Sāhib Kaul's works are quite interesting for the religious history of Kashmir. The clan of the Kauls migrated from Mithila to Kashmir, and fused their own ritual system and possibly also their theology or philosophy with the local Kashmirian counterparts.[51] This can be seen in the fact that Sāhib Kaul wrote a ritual manual on Śyāmā, i. e. Dakṣiṇakālī, a deity from his old home, but also a Stotra containing a Mantroddhāra of the Kashmirian lineage deity Śārikā. On a philosophical level we will see that he is using Advaita Vedānta and Pratyabhijñā side by side.

When discussing Stotra literature we need to speak about another, partly subjective issue in editing, one that should not matter for an editor, but sometimes nevertheless does. We tend to be more enthusiastic about editing a specific text, when we like the author and enjoy reading his work, or at least hold that his œuvre is in some ways important. Editing might also be based on a more detached academic motivation: we may want to find a piece of a historical puzzle (the text itself may be no more than a means to that end). There are also other motivations that involve still more distance to one's object of study. Oldenberg explained his interest in the Veda like the interest of a doctor in the delirious talk of lunatics. So there is quite a range of views an editor might adopt regarding a text.

Partly overlapping with such perceptions are more official notions about the value of the text one is dealing with. Since I have neither French nor English examples at hand, I will give you one from German literature. It is probably unnecessary to explain that the academic study of national poets like Goethe is commonly seen as worthwhile. But our views are partly a back projection, and naturally they represent a minority view fixated on upper

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[50] Some scholars were first inclined to believe that non-dualism in Kashmir derived from Śaṅkarācārya's supposed visit there, as reported in hagiographies. [51] For details, see my forthcoming edition.

class, high culture, a view open to all sorts of criticism. If we go beyond this and include data on what was actually popular at the time, suddenly names like Kotzebue surface. About this author a consensus has built that he is not a worthy object of study, he just happened to be "popular" at the time, but had no lasting value and was denied admission into the halls of world literature or even of German literature. Only recently the ban was lifted, because it would have been quite irrational to deny that a study of popular culture may tell us something about the mentalities of the age. I adduce this perhaps far-fetched example, because similar presuppositions may shape the way we understand and read Stotras. They represent popular religion, and thus to some they deserve no place except far below high philosophy or theology.

How to Understand Devotional Stotras?

Recently Hamsa Stainton has, in his doctoral thesis on *Poetry and Prayer: Stotras in the Religious and Literary History of Kashmir*,[52] made a fresh attempt at understanding Stotras. Faithful to the North-American tradition of trying to explain the larger view on the topic, he has studied an impressive spectrum of Kashmirian Stotras[53] and produced a positive view of the genre.

Stainton explains that the typical framework for understanding that the same authors wrote philosophical treatises as well as Stotras, is to talk of those scholars we like to see as philosophers as passing from a "noetic" to an "emotional" register (Torella), where they could express themselves as freed from the constraints of philosophical discourse. Stotras, as Fürlinger says, referring to the *Śivastotrāvalī*, were often outpourings, and therefore follow another logic; they do not, for instance, display the expected logical order etc.[54] Stainton carefully disagrees and assumes that such ideas are more due to a "Romantic legacy" in interpretation—poetry conceived as the spontaneous expression of a poetic genius—but that such explanations are not sufficient:

> Utpaladeva's poetry does not simply express emotion; it demonstrates and dramatizes the same non-dualism he teaches in his

[52] Columbia University 2013. [53] This includes unpublished materials and some Stotras of Sāhib Kaul, which I had sent to him in a preliminary edition. [54] Although in the case of the *Śivastotrāvalī* this may be due to an editorial failure, for which see above, p. 80.

> expository treatises. While his philosophical writings aim to persuade his audience with logic and argumentation, his poetry exemplifies his teachings and demonstrates for his human audience how his non-dualistic theology can be implemented in speech. This can be seen in how both Utpaladeva and Kṣemarāja deal with key issues relevant to the study of stotras, including poetry and poetics, the acts of praise and prayer, and bhakti.[55]

I would agree that there is more to explaining Stotras than a simple reference to "emotion" as opposed to the "rational". Let me quote just one example from Utpaladeva's *Śivastotrāvalī*:[56]

> *jayanti bhaktipīyūṣarasāsavavaronmadāḥ*
> *advitīyā api sadā tvaddvitīyā api prabho* (1.5)

> Victorious are those intoxicated by the concentrated best drink of devotion,
> who are always without a second and at the same time with you as the second, O Lord.

There are different modes to read verses like these. If one looks at Kṣemarāja's commentary, one is treated with the expected doctrinal background and interpretation:

> *bhaktipīyūṣarasa eva āsavavaraḥ, utkṛṣṭaṃ pānaṃ, tena udgataharṣāḥ ye te jayanti, sarvotkarṣeṇa vartante. kīdṛśaḥ? advitīyāḥ, asādhāraṇasvarūpā api tvaddvitīyāḥ, tvam eva dvitīyas tulyarūpo yeṣām* [. . .] *advitīyāś ca kathaṃ tvaddvitīyāḥ, tvaddvitīyāś ca katham advitīyāḥ? iti virodhacchāyā.*

Kṣemarāja's commentary, it is true, decodes the doctrinal content of the Stotras, and, as is customary for a commentator, explains the trope employed. It is, as in many other instances in this part of the work a case of "seeming

[55] Op. cit., p. 192. [56] All references are to the edition by RĀJĀNAKA LAKṢMAṆA: *The Śivastotrāvalī of Utpaladevācārya with the Sanskrit Commentary of Kṣemarāja*. Varanasi 1964.

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class, high culture, a view open to all sorts of criticism. If we go beyond this and include data on what was actually popular at the time, suddenly names like Kotzebue surface. About this author a consensus has built that he is not a worthy object of study, he just happened to be "popular" at the time, but had no lasting value and was denied admission into the halls of world literature or even of German literature. Only recently the ban was lifted, because it would have been quite irrational to deny that a study of popular culture may tell us something about the mentalities of the age. I adduce this perhaps far-fetched example, because similar presuppositions may shape the way we understand and read Stotras. They represent popular religion, and thus to some they deserve no place except far below high philosophy or theology.

How to Understand Devotional Stotras?

Recently Hamsa Stainton has, in his doctoral thesis on *Poetry and Prayer: Stotras in the Religious and Literary History of Kashmir*,[52] made a fresh attempt at understanding Stotras. Faithful to the North-American tradition of trying to explain the larger view on the topic, he has studied an impressive spectrum of Kashmirian Stotras[53] and produced a positive view of the genre.

Stainton explains that the typical framework for understanding that the same authors wrote philosophical treatises as well as Stotras, is to talk of those scholars we like to see as philosophers as passing from a "noetic" to an "emotional" register (Torella), where they could express themselves as freed from the constraints of philosophical discourse. Stotras, as Fürlinger says, referring to the *Śivastotrāvalī*, were often outpourings, and therefore follow another logic; they do not, for instance, display the expected logical order etc.[54] Stainton carefully disagrees and assumes that such ideas are more due to a "Romantic legacy" in interpretation—poetry conceived as the spontaneous expression of a poetic genius—but that such explanations are not sufficient:

> Utpaladeva's poetry does not simply express emotion; it demonstrates and dramatizes the same non-dualism he teaches in his

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> expository treatises. While his philosophical writings aim to persuade his audience with logic and argumentation, his poetry exemplifies his teachings and demonstrates for his human audience how his non-dualistic theology can be implemented in speech. This can be seen in how both Utpaladeva and Kṣemarāja deal with key issues relevant to the study of stotras, including poetry and poetics, the acts of praise and prayer, and bhakti.[55]

I would agree that there is more to explaining Stotras than a simple reference to "emotion" as opposed to the "rational". Let me quote just one example from Utpaladeva's *Śivastotrāvalī*:[56]

> *jayanti bhaktipīyūṣarasāsavavaronmadāḥ*
> *advitīyā api sadā tvaddvitīyā api prabho* (1.5)

> Victorious are those intoxicated by the concentrated best drink
> of devotion,
> who are always without a second and at the same time with you
> as the second, O Lord.

There are different modes to read verses like these. If one looks at Kṣemarāja's commentary, one is treated with the expected doctrinal background and interpretation:

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> *bhaktipīyūṣarasa eva āsavavaraḥ, utkṛṣṭaṃ pānaṃ, tena udgataharṣāḥ ye te jayanti, sarvotkarṣeṇa vartante. kīdṛśaḥ? advitīyāḥ, asādhāraṇasvarūpā api tvaddvitīyāḥ, tvam eva dvitīyas tulyarūpo yeṣām* [. . .] *advitīyāś ca kathaṃ tvaddvitīyāḥ, tvaddvitīyāś ca katham advitīyāḥ? iti virodhacchāyā.*

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Let me first quote how Stainton would interpret these texts:[57]

> In all of this, Utpaladeva is not simply expressing his "spiritual experiences" in an outpouring of emotion. His verses are crafted to guide and teach others how specific theological ideas can be experienced and articulated in language. While his philosophical treatises argue for a radical non-dualism, his poetry models and praises the celebration of this non-duality in speech. Thus the continuity between Utpaladeva's philosophical works and his poetry lies in his effort to teach his formulation of Śaiva non-dualism. His objective in his poetry remains the same as in his philosophical works, except that his approach is different, since poetry can do things that expository argumentation cannot. As a kind of verbal action it enacts specific theological positions in prayer, worship, and so on. Poetry can be internalized, recited, shared, and enjoyed in ways that expository texts cannot.

Again, I would agree, but add that this genre even allows the author and reader to free himself from the usual doctrinal modes of understanding the experience that might lie behind the doctrine. Utpaladeva speaks of a drunkenness, which Kṣemarāja tones down in his reinterpretation by giving it a technical meaning: *unmada* for him means *harṣa*, whereby he loses the image of drunkenness, but—as I would argue—also the point of the verse that like a drunken person cannot properly distinguish objects, one drunk with *bhakti* cannot really say whether he is *advitīya* or *tvaddvitīya*. The image of drunkenness is crucial for understanding that in this uncommon state the boundaries of subject and object have changed.[58] But not only does the subject-object division seem blurred, apparently different modes of experience that to the sober philosopher are mutualy contradicting suddenly seem to coexist in this state: a non-dual state (*advitīya*) and one where the subject is in some relation to Śiva that is not specified.

[57] *Poetry and Prayer*, p. 196. [58] For the image, compare *Mokṣopāya* 5.34.94, and in the translation *Der Weg zur Befreiung. Das Fünfte Buch.* Übersetzung von ROLAND STEINER. Wiesbaden 2015, p. 197, fn. 7.

The philosopher would immediately demand to know whether this is one of *śivasāmya*, *śivaikya* or *-sādṛśya*, but the advantage of the genre of Stotra is that there is no place for this. What Kṣemarāja does, is to rationalize away this ambivalence. He seems to tell us that although Utpaladeva acts in the guise of the drunken devotee, he is still our well-known philosopher, who exactly knows what the *dvitīya* is, and who presents us with a verbal riddle, which seems, but actually is not contradictory, for this is the point of the *virodhacchāyā*. What if Utpaladeva actually meant it as he wrote it, that is, expressed his wonder about this strange *coincidentia oppositorum*?

Kṣemarāja does not only try to pull back the free expressions of Utpaladeva into solid doctrinal categories and treats poetry no different than Śāstra, but he also severly criticizes the editor of the Stotras[59] on doctrinal grounds. After commenting briefly on *Śivastotrāvalī* 17.47, and showing that it expresses an idea similar to *Bhagavadgītā* 12.15, he has to vent his anger on the editor(s), for the first time in his commentary rather explicitly:

> Is this verse the only case of irritation[60] in this Stotra full of doctrines of the glorious great essence? True, one has to remember things like "the knot of all *vāsanās*" (17.15). [Here follow seven other examples]—but here and in other cases the verses are not in accord.[61] This is the "grace" of Śrīviśvāvarta alone, who has spread out the collections incorrectly (or: full of faults). Thus there is, in other Stotras also, much that is similarly inappropriate, but we have not revealed it.
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> *nanu ca śrīmanmahāsāroktimaye 'mutra stotre 'yaṃ śloko dadrusthānīyaḥ ? satyam "aśeṣavāsanāgranthi" ityādikasyāpi smartavyam / [. . .] ityādayas tv anuguṇā apy atra ślokā na santi / tad ayam asamañjasaśayyāprastāriṇaḥ śrīviśvāvartasyaiva prasādaḥ / evam anyeṣv api stotreṣv evaṃprāyaṃ bahv anucitam asti, tat tu asmābhir nodghāṭitam.*

The question is: if it is "inappropriate" from a doctrinal (that is Kṣemarāja's) standpoint, does it automatically imply that it is not genuine? There might

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be another possibility to understand Stotras, namely as a poetical refugium where one can express ideas that in a purely śāstric setting would be much more difficult to express and defend, a place for religious or mystical poetry.

Mystical Experience

When we are talking about verses containing expressions of what seem to be mystical or similar experiences, we are suddenly at a loss how to deal with them academically. Are we to interpret these texts as literature—since often they might be highly poetical—, or psychologically, or with the help of still other frames of reference. Here any interpretation is highly insecure, a slight change in the mode of understanding, and the whole context we have squeezed out of a passage may suddenly collapse. Most endangered are those interpretations that follow a fixed predefined theory. Take the following passage from the famous Kashmirian "Mystic" Lallā and its interpretation:[62]

> My guru gave me this one precept:
> 'withdraw your gaze from without,
> and concentrate on the self within.'
> That became the turning point in Lalla's life,
> and naked I began to dance.
>
> [. . .] Rather than sitting at the guru's feet for extended expositions of the sacred Śaiva texts, her contact with her guru may have been limited to a single meeting in which she gained instant enlightenment and thereby surpassed human institutions. This latter interpretation obviates the gendered problem of engagement in protracted study in a lineage of (male) teachers and disciples.

Here the fixation on "gender" and "power" has pushed alternative interpretations out of sight. It is likely that Lallā suffered from male domination and that we can interpret many episodes and statements in accounts of her

[62] MICHELLE VOSS ROBERTS: "Power, Gender, and the Classification of a Kashmir Śaiva 'Mystic'." In: *The Journal of Hindu Studies* 2010, p. 285. The verse corresponds to no. 94 in th edition of GEORGE GRIERSON and LIONELL BARNETT: *Lallā-vākyāni.* London 1920.

life from that angle, but it is not a holy law that each and every statement must be interpreted in that manner and that all alternative interpretations are henceforth unimaginable. In the passage under review I think that a viable alternative would be an interpretation of the passage as describing not a social, but a psychic process. Her "guru" might not be a person after all, but an inner voice that directed her inwards.

I shall quote another very instructive example from this text. As is well-known a corpus of her sayings has been translated into Sanskrit by Bhāskarakaṇṭha, and here we encounter yet another facet of the versatile author introduced above. The following verse is Grierson's translation into which I have inserted the (*tatsama*) terms from the original Kashmiri in order to facilitate a comparison. Then follows the Sanskrit version of Bhāskara:[63]

> Holy books (*tantra*) will disappear, and then only the mystic formula (*mantra*) will remain.
> When the mystic formula (*mantra*) departed, naught but mind was left.
> When the mind disappeared, naught was left anywhere,
> And a void became merged within the Void.

> *tantraṃ sarvaṃ līyate mantra eva*
> *mantraś citte līyate nādamūlaḥ*
> *citte līne līyate sarvam eva*
> *dṛśyaṃ draṣṭā śiṣyate citsvarūpaḥ*

Bhāskara carefully avoids the term *śūnya*, on which Lallā's verse depends. Her verse is in fact a straightforward description of the mystic's experience of the unification of consciousness. The multitude of objects, represented by the Tantras, give way to—presumably one single—mantra, then, when the mantra disappeared only the mind was left, but when the mind dissolved, everything was dissolved. Up to this point Bhāskara agrees with Lallā.

But then Lallā states that when mind and everything else was just a void, the voids merged, there was no more difference between an inside (subject) or an outside (object). Bhāskara does not mention the word *śūnya*, but reinterprets the image of the merging voids by explaining that both subject

[63] Op. cit., p. 33.

and object of perception are revealed as consciousness itself. In doing so he reduces an individual description that does not accord with the official theological mode of expression to a śāstric explanation. But the verse, I would argue, culminates in this single image, and its effect is based on the fact that the "void" is *not* resolved into what a learned Śaiva would expect. For we can assume that doctrinal reasons were the cause. There is no sufficently positive description of "void" in the philosophies Bhāskara accepted that would allow a commentator to make sense of the term as a description of a final spiritual state. And so he chose to reinterpret the statement as implying the identity of subject and object within unified consciousness. This seems to be the fate of an individual "mystical" expression when commented upon by theologians.

The topic that comes into play here is that of "spiritual experiences", which have been repeatedly adduced by indologists for characterizing texts, or explaining doctrines. European Indology has usually reacted with scepticism, when mysticism was invoked for explaining the thought-world of Indian authors, because they seemed to undermine their aim of explaining the Indian thought world without ready identifications and undue simplifications.

Sanskritists in general were more comfortable to ignore the topic altogether and preferred to stick to what they knew, that is the study of the relevant authors not as mystics, but as theologians or philosophers. But especially in Buddhist studies, a field that grew in prominence within Indology during most of the twentieth century, the topic was more difficult to avoid, since the emphasis on, or rhetorics of "experience" had become a defining characteristic of Buddhist self-representation in modernity. Some current works[64] follow the lead of Buddhologists like Sharf,[65] who dismiss the concept of experience as a modern overemphasis that distorts historical Buddhism, in which "spiritual experience" was much less prominent. A similar observation could be made concerning different strands of Hinduism, where the great emphasis on "spirituality" likewise appears to be a modern one.

But it would be premature to do away with the whole field of meditative experience so easily. In what seems to be for philologists an unconnected parallel world of life sciences, the topic of "meditation studies" has received a

[64] OLIVER FREIBERGER and CHRISTOPH KLEINE: *Buddhismus. Handbuch und kritische Einführung*. Göttingen 2011, p. 233ff. [65] ROBERT H. SHARF: "The Rhetoric of Experience and the Study of Religion". In: *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 7.11–12 (2000), p. 267–87.

quite different type of academic attention.[66] Here we find research conducted on the effects of meditation or, to be more exact, altered states of consciousness, from the perspective of neuro-sciences and thus from a diametrically opposed angle. Contents or doctrine are only marginally interesting, what is in focus are physiological data to describe the short term and long term effects of meditation on the brain. Details are not only beyond the expertise of the Sanskrit philologist, they belong to a habitat of specialized neurological journals, which they leave only when health effects can be claimed, as when it is found that "meditation delays Alzheimer's disease" and so on. Here contents of experiences do not really come into play, since there is no framework to deal with them. For a description of meditative experiences the language of the practitioners who form the object of study is used, which is usually (Tibetan) Buddhist.

Since neuroscientists are often not aware of the complications surrounding a supposedly "neutral" description of "experience", but use terminology uncritically, it is quite difficult to establish a dialogue between the fields. The communication becomes even more problematic, when the results of research are then fed back into modern Western Buddhism on a popular level. For instance, in a special issue of *Buddhismus aktuell* (2012.3) devoted to "Buddhismus und Wissenschaft im Dialog. Meditation und Gehirnforschung", we find that European Buddhists unknowingly employ the peculiar rhetoric of the supremacy of "Eastern Religion" or Buddhism once established by Buddhists as well as Hindus to counteract European colonial emphasis on "science". When we read in one article that a brain scientist explains how research benefits today from the methods of Buddhist meditation, the context evoked is that of—thus another headline—"ancient wisdom and modern science". If we add the substantial body of literature recently produced on the much-promoted topic of "Buddhism and Science"[67] the whole matter becomes hopelessly unmanageable, and the philologist or scholar of religion will often wonder where and how to start untangling this net. But since the topic has become part of an indological discussion about the relationship

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[66] A popular overview of the research is given in: ULRICH OTT: *Meditation für Skeptiker*. München 2010. [67] See only DONALD LOPEZ: *Buddhism and Science: A Guide for the Perplexed*. Chicago 2008.

between doctrine and mystical experience, we can not altogether ignore it here.

Buddhologists are aware of some articles written by one of the great authorities in the field, Lambert Schmithausen, who explained in an early article in 1976 "On the relation of spiritual practice and philosophical theory in Buddhism" in which way some items of Buddhist Philosophy are most likely based on spiritual experiences. To this Eli Franco has recently reacted in much detail in an article published in an interdisciplinary volume devoted to meditation.[68] Therein Franco dismisses the thesis that there is a close correspondence in Buddhism between meditation and metaphysics, an idea expressed in the most sweeping way by Regamey and Conze and in a more careful manner by Schmithausen. The two former scholars play no role in the article by Franco, who concentrates on Schmithausen. Franco starts with the case of the four meditations,[69] which he thinks confirms Schmithausen's thesis. The reason is not given in clear terms, but it seems that the fact that these insights are described in the texts as originating from meditation is crucial.[70]

Franco conducts his discussion without any explanation of the complexity of the terms of "mystic, spiritual, meditative" or other similar experiences. We are, it seems, inferring the experience from the texts. Surely mystical experience is not a realm where our normal experience will give us a background from which to judge with any amount of certainty whether a text is describing, or rather rationalizing, an experience that might be called mystical or not. While in many other fields of philological study the specific practical background can be ignored according to the dictum of Terenz *homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, it is in this case more difficult. Even a psychiatrist may not be entirely confident that he knows exactly how an acute psychosis feels.

To give an easier example: When reading Sanskrit texts on metallurgy, how can we know whether the author was describing (1) his own experience of

[68] "Meditation and Metaphysics. On their mutual relationship in South-Asian Buddhism". In: ELI FRANCO (ed.): *Yogic perception, Meditation and Altered States of Consciousness*. Wien 2009, p. 93–132. [69] Op. cit., p. 96–100. [70] Although this does not affect his argument, it is interesting to note that modern social reformers like Kosambi and Ambedkar doubted the authenticity of this very passage. I owe this information to Mahesh Deokar.

producing steel, in which case it would hopefully be an accurate description, or (2) the common knowledge of his time, which could be mixed with all kinds of non-professional misconceptions, or (3) an entirely imaginative process of producing metal. Here even our own (current) knowledge of metallurgy is not always a secure point of reference. The Indian process of producing crucible steel, for instance, could for a long time not be reconstrued, and all European pronouncements on the matter were highly inadequate.[71] Nevertheless, we know that there is Indian crucible steel and that it was produced in India by a method, of which the details were for a long time unknown. A European or modern Indian metallurgist, when asked to judge whether the processes are based on actual expertise, would not have been able to answer the question with a simple yes or no, at least not before the ingenious process was more recently reproduced.

Other examples could be adduced that involve a complex relation between "personal experience" and literature. Does Indian erotological literature describe actual experiences of the author or imagined sex? Does Indian love lyrics describe true emotion or is it a literary imagination? Here we may rightly ask: Does it matter? Do we need a biographic interpretation of a text to prove that the author had the experiences he describes? Often these questions end in a cul-de-sac, and we may rightly be charged with theoretical simple-mindedness by experts on "Literaturwissenschaft".

Coming back to our topic: Franco, following Schmithausen, wants to investigate doctrines that are specific to Buddhism, therefore the question whether reincarnation, being pre-Buddhist, is based on meditative experience, is irrelevant. The search is narrowed down to new meditational findings that have arisen in Buddhism for the first time, an interesting limitation, since it presupposes that mystical experience is thought to conform to our concept of an advance in philosophical, academic or even economical development. It only counts if it is something new.

Franco discusses a whole range of Buddhist doctrines and in each case dismisses any connection with meditation. For instance, the doctrine that the *dharmas* exist in all three times cannot be—he states—based on meditation.

[71] See JÜRGEN HANNEDER: *Der »Schwertgleiche Raum«. Zur Kulturgeschichte des indischen Stahls*. Stuttgart 2005.

The reason for this seems to be[72] that there is no emic claim to the effect, and that arguments in its favour are purely rational. A few more examples of a similar kind are given, then the argumentation shifts to the points actually raised by Schmithausen. The first would be the *anātman* doctrine. According to Franco "the evidence he adduces for the hypothesis that it has its origin in meditative experience is rather meagre. Schmithausen is one of the most learned scholars of Buddhism of our time, and yet for the negation of the soul (*ātman*) in meditation he could find no earlier testimony than Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* [. . .]"[73] He adduces Steinkellner's and Vetter's explanation of this doctrine as a reaction to the early *pudgalavāda* and dismisses Schmithausen's theory as inconclusive. A similar treatment is given to the philosophical extension of the idea of *anātmatva* into the doctrine that "all things lack substance". Here Franco asks and concludes: "Could one maintain that the development of this more sweeping doctrine is due to meditation? Again: evidence is lacking and one could make up various scenarios all equally speculative."[74]

This is probably true, but we may also ask the question, what type of evidence Franco would admit for proving Schmithausen's thesis. It seems only the clear statement in the texts that a certain doctrine is the direct outcome of meditational experience will do. But even this criterium cannot always apply, as the example of the four noble truths shows. The four noble truths surely satisfy the criterium that they are presented as originating in meditation, but here the composite nature of this doctrine (as analysed by Bareau) is enough to disprove the idea. Spiritual experience, it seems, at least has to be logical. As a result "it seems that in Conservative Buddhism *most* philosophical doctrines did *not* originate directly from meditative practice."[75]

Before following Franco into some details and identify problems of his approach, we must note that he uses a variety of arguments to dismantle Schmithausen's thesis. For most doctrines under scrutiny for possibly originating in meditation experiences, he adduces an alternative philosophical explanation, mostly working with the typical logic of Frauwallner, that doctrines respond to flaws in the argumentation.[76] When this is the case, a

[72] In many cases Franco's reasons have to be inferred. [73] Franco: "Meditation and Metaphysics", p. 103. [74] Op. cit., p. 104. [75] Op. cit., p. 105. [76] Op. cit., p. 104.

meditation experience can be ruled out. In order to satisfy Franco's demands, the Buddha or his later voices would have had to leave some prominent doctrine unexplained, for it apparently needed to be "counterintuitive". In other words, we are looking for failures to explain the supposed meditational experience in a coherent doctrine—not only a high, but also a fairly arbitrary hurdle. Furthermore, one might suspect that the search for such unexplainable breaks in a religious doctrine that has given rise to one of the most sophisticated and impressive philosophical reflections is, if not doomed to failure, at least an unrealistic endeavour.

Predictably also a whole host of other theories cannot be proven to be the result from meditative experience. For the question of a Buddha-nature residing in all beings, Franco calls Zimmermann as a witness to say: "Of course, we cannot know whether the idea of the Buddha-nature in living beings resulted from a novel meditative experience [. . .]"[77] We may add: Of course, one cannot possibly know about experiences made by persons millennia ago and how they committed them to writings. Did they use literary forms, paradoxes, or philosophy? If the type of reasoning applied by Franco were enough to exhaust the relationship between literature and the real world, we could dispense with many disciplines of interpretation.

The article of Franco ends with the well-known observation that meditative experience does not imply a state of *tabula rasa* and its interpretation is couched in images of one's own culture: The Jewish mystic, he says, does not experience the *anātman*, and a Buddhist Yogi will not meet God the Creator.[78] In the end this approach will not tell us much about the relation between "experience" and doctrine, for "it would even be hard to prove that theories about meditation arise from meditative practice."[79]

But perhaps the argumentation can solved in a much easier way. One crucial qualification introduced by Franco lies in the word "directly". He does not deny that an indirect connection between doctrine and meditation is possible,

[77] Op. cit., p. 119. [78] This is a funny claim, since if one looks at actual descriptions of religious experiences one does find the occassional mismatch, for instance, Christians faced with an egoless ultimate reality. See, for instance, Bernadette Roberts: *The Experience of No-Self*. Shambala 1982. [79] Franco: "Meditation and Metaphysics", p. 117.

but considers such a relation, since "meditation is a central phenomenon in Buddhism", as "trivial".[80]

The question is: would it make a difference if we were to understand "originating directly" not in the manner of Franco in disproving Schmithausen, but in a more multidimensional manner? For instance: does the *Kāmasūtra* "originate directly" from the sexual experience of the author? Why should it? No reader would doubt that his general experience would be sufficient qualification for writing the book. The question would have to be called at least pedantic, or—if one would use it to prove philologically that he never had sex—sophistic.

Sometimes Franco simply states that there is no connection: "Now, what is this perfection of wisdom that is repeatedly praised in this Sūtra? It is the insight that all final elements of existence (*dharmas*) are unreal, and this insight is realized during a meditation that causes the suppression of all consciousness and feelings. In other words, when the perfection of wisdom is attained, the world disappears [. . .]"[81] What confuses Franco is that "the content of this meditation corresponds to absolute reality. When the yogi emerges from the meditative state, he generalizes his experience: [. . .] the whole world is but an illusion [. . .]"[82] The passage is now dissected according to the method described above: "Can we conclude that this counterintuitive doctrine has arisen from meditative practice? I fail to see that there is evidence for such a conclusion. There are at least three possible hypotheses that may account for the development of the perfection of Wisdom [. . .]"[83] Here, too, the fact that a doctrine has been explained philosophically in various ways, in this case by Western scholars, precludes that it originates in an experience. I see no reason why it should not, but agree that it cannot be *proven* within the argumentative framework set up by Franco. To my mind, a scientifically valid *proof* that Buddhist doctrine is derived from "experience" would necessarily operate within what we should understand as a theological argumentation. I therefore agree with Franco that the theory that Buddhist doctrines stem directly from experiences cannot be *proven* by philological and philosophical

[80] Only in footnote 33 he refers to a personal communication of Schmithausen, according to which he would now withdraw the adverb "unmittelbar". This of course could have well stopped the whole controversy before the article was even written. [81] FRANCO: "Meditation and Metaphysics", p. 107. [82] FRANCO: "Meditation and Metaphysics", p. 107. [83] Ibid.

methods. But I would disagree with him in that it can be disproved by the same methods.

When reading Franco's article, one notices that this attempt to disprove meditational experiences as a source for Buddhist doctrine appears somewhat solipsistic, especially in an interdisciplinary volume that provides insights from quite a few other disciplines that study the theory and practice of meditation from other angles. Furthermore, what is conspicuous through utter absence in Franco's article, is literature on meditation. There would have been enough points of comparison to the second, interdisciplinary part of the volume. How would a psychologist understand Buddhist meditative states? Should they be described within the framework of psychopathology, as artificial catatonia or narcissistic self-absorption?[84] Is there an intellectual instrumentarium beyond Buddhist theory to understand such experiences, and would this understanding be useful for the Schmithausen-Franco controversy? There are quite a few European attempts that are worth mentioning. Queckelberghe refers to the founder of "Autogenes Training" Johannes Schultz, and we should add Carl Albrecht, who has, in his psychology of mystic consciousness,[85] given a highly positive evaluation and description of mystic states, but uses a somewhat impenetrable language.

Even if we disregard literature from the wide field of religious studies, there is a considerable body of psychological literature dealing specifically with the identification and charaterization of religious experiences,[86] and there are also attempts to provide a neurophysiological explanation for the altered state of consciousness.[87] If we summarize the characteristics given, we could say that one of the central meditative experiences is described as one, in which the subject-object division subsides and which gives way to a feeling of unity which has the quality of a normal (sensory) perception, one which is perceived as real, or even more real than the normal mode of perception. If we accept that such states, which can now be correlated to objective neurophysiological changes, are within the realm of human experience, then it is at least conceivable that some Buddhist doctrines try to capture charac-

[84] Referred to by Queckelberghe on p. 439 of the volume edited by Franco. [85] CARL ALBRECHT: *Psychologie des mystischen Bewußtseins*. Mainz 1990 [^{1}1951] [86] A convenient summary is given in ULRICH OTT: *Meditation für Skeptiker*. München 2010, p. 112–117. [87] Ibid., p. 117–125.

teristics of such an experience. Whether the authors of the respective texts are really those, who had the experience, or whether they are in various ways removed from the "Yogic perception",[88] we may never find out. But there are interesting phenomenological parallels. For instance, the above-mentioned Carl Albrecht, who uses a neutral, but sometimes also Christian language to describe mystical experiences, has given a characterization of the mystical state, which could provide a bridge to the Buddhist notion of non-self:

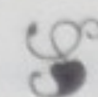
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To conclude, I would reject too simplistic equations of doctrine and experience, but argue that unless we leave some scope for the interpretation that a text reflects experience, we are likely to shut out an important segment of human experience.

I would advocate, at least provisionally, not to fall into the trap of scientific objectivity, and allow for some literary scope in the interpretation of religious poetry to cover religious experience. Here we can neither claim objectivity, nor need we pretend to follow any specific theory to capture this necessarily elusive concept. I would rather exercise some freedom in interpretation, as is done in other subjects like comparative literature, instead of attaching ourselves to the fairly conservative ideas concerning the boundaries of "pure" philology. In other words, I would rather err with Schmithausen than shut out the whole world of emotion and experience with Franco.

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Saccidānandakandalī 2

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A good example for the way he describes what we might understand as religious experiences is the following passage from the *Svātmabodha*:

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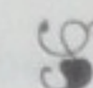
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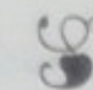
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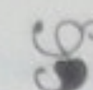
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brahmāsya sṛṣṭiṃ vidadhāti viṣṇū
rakṣāṃ haro 'tha pralayaṃ bhavasya
pidhānam īśo 'pi sadāśivo 'nu-
grahaṃ madāptena hi vaibhavena (14)

Brahmā causes its creation, Viṣṇu perserves it,
then Śiva destroys the world.
Īśa veils it, Sadāśiva confers his grace,
but all through the power I command.

We can no doubt understand this as a doctrinal argument, the author has realized himself as Śiva, and Śiva is his core of being, so he can say that all the gods work through his grace alone, that he himself creates the whole universe. We can also utilize Haṃsa Stainton's mode of expression and say that this is a way how "specific theological ideas can be experienced and articulated in language" and that "poetry models and praises the celebration of this non-duality in speech".

If we are at all willing to allow for an interpretation of Stotras as expressing religious experience, then this would for me be a candidate. It is perhaps worth comparing this with a passage from another mystic.

> When I was born, all things were born, and I was the source of myself and of all things, and had I so wished, I would not have been born and neither all things. And if I were not, God would not be either. That God is God, for this I am the cause. And if I were not, God would not be God.[91]

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The teacher, who is said to have found his own luminous self, listens to the words of the disciple, and now starts to teach from his own experience (4). Since the mind of the pupil is fortunately already pure, has escaped like a lotus the mud through his own power and has been washed with the waters of detachment, he is merely in need of the touch of the Sun, that is the teaching, to blossom (5). The setting reminds one of the *Mokṣopāya*, where Rāma, in a religious depression, has all the prerequisites to be liberated through this kind of religious didactic intervention.

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rakṣāṃ haro 'tha pralayaṃ bhavasya
pidhānam īśo 'pi sadāśivo 'nu-
grahaṃ madāptena hi vaibhavena (14)

Brahmā causes its creation, Viṣṇu perserves it,
then Śiva destroys the world.
Īśa veils it, Sadāśiva confers his grace,
but all through the power I command.

We can no doubt understand this as a doctrinal argument, the author has realized himself as Śiva, and Śiva is his core of being, so he can say that all the gods work through his grace alone, that he himself creates the whole universe. We can also utilize Haṃsa Stainton's mode of expression and say that this is a way how "specific theological ideas can be experienced and articulated in language" and that "poetry models and praises the celebration of this non-duality in speech".

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Here is one further example, which shows that Sāhib Kaul's thought world is gradually lost in these recurring misreadings:

यद्वच्छाम्बरिकेन्द्रजालवितथभ्रान्तात्स्वचित्ताद्भवं
चाण्डालाद्यभयं व्यतीत्य लवणो भूयः पपालावनिम् ।
मायामात्ममतिं विहाय परमं तत्त्वं महाशान्तिदं
स्वामिंस्त्वं निजमद्भुतं स्मर विभुः सर्वोऽसि किं क्लिश्यसि ।।१६।।

yadvac chāmbarikendrajālavitathabhrāntāt svacittodbhavaṃ
cāṇḍalyādibhayaṃ vyatītya lavaṇo bhūyaḥ papālāvaniṃ
māyāmātṛmitiṃ vihāya paramaṃ tadvan mahāśāntidaṃ
svāmitvaṃ nijam adbhutaṃ smara vibhuḥ sarvo 'si kiṃ kliśyasi
(16)

The verse mentions king Lavaṇa,[95] who in one episode in the *Mokṣopāya* is magically transformed into a Caṇḍāla world, lives there, but returns to his kingdom and takes up his reign again. What he loses is his fear of being really a Caṇḍāla, an interesting interpretation by the way. The reading *svāmiṃs tvam* removes the object on which three adjectives depend, the correlative *tadvat* is lost to a misreading as *tattvaṃ*, and the pupil is surely not asked to give up *māyām ātmamatiṃ*, but *māyāmātṛmitiṃ* "the experience of the illusionary subject of perception (*māyīyapramātṛ*)".

In the 64 verses of the *Citsphārasārādvaya* there are around hundred such instances, in which the re-edition based on all available sources differs substantially from that of Pandey. I will conclude with one last example. In verse 30 the author tells us that we rightly recognize a tree, when we see leaves, branches, flowers, etc. and likewise we recognize Śiva or the self, when we see the world. The first two Pādas of the verse are given in the edition of Pandey as:

ārāt patraphalaprasūnanikarākārānurūpyād yathā
vṛkṣe sāvasukāhva ity avitathadṛṣṭyā parijñāyate [. . .]

95 PETER STEPHAN: *Die Lavaṇa-Episode im Mokṣopāya: Über den illusionären Charakter personaler Identität. Textkritische Edition, Erstübersetzung, Studie.* (urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:4-2891) Halle 2008.

The obvious problem here is that *vṛkṣe sāvasukāhva* makes no sense. Unless, of course, we approach the text in the way adopted by some pre-modern Sanskrit commentators, who work according to the famous maxim *sthitasya gatir cintanīyā*, "we must think about [how to] understand what is there", in other words, make sense of what is in the manuscript. This is then sometimes done without thinking about probabilites. In the present case we might divide *vṛkṣe asau asu-ka-āhva*; "something called life", which fits somehow for a tree, and in such cases commentators might produce long-winded explanations, simply because they cannot make good sense of the wording. Since I do not want to be accused of colonial, or worse, German Orientalist arrogance, I will adduce a quote from an Indian, even a royal source, namely, Bhoja, who says in his commentary on the *Yogasūtras*:

durbodhaṃ yad atīva tad vijahati spaṣṭārtham ity uktibhiḥ
spaṣṭārtheṣv ativistṛtiṃ vidadhati vyarthaiḥ samāsādikaiḥ
asthāne 'nupayogibhiś ca bahubhir jalpair bhramaṃ tanvate
śrotṝṇām iti vastuviplavakṛtaḥ sarve 'pi ṭīkākṛtaḥ

What is difficult to comprehend, they pass over saying it is clear.
In clear passages they go to great length with meaningless compounds, etc.
At inappropriate places they cause confusion through many useless statements.
Thus all authors of commentaries bring the destruction of the object [of texts] to their readers.

In any case, when a commentator has to interpret an otherwise perfectly understandable text through dissecting it into syllables, one has to become careful.

Fortunately, in our verse a knowledge of the homographes in Śāradā script is enough to save the text from editorial madness: we just need to substitute an *o* for an *e*, and a *ma* for a *sa*. Both pairs are easily and regularly confused in Śāradā, the script, in which Sāhib Kaul's works were presumably written and transmitted. Then we arrive at *vṛkṣo 'sāv amukāhva*; meaning: after seeing leaves, branches, etc., we know that this is a tree of the name x, *amuka* of

Here is one further example, which shows that Sāhib Kaul's thought world is gradually lost in these recurring misreadings:

यद्वच्छाम्बरिकेन्द्रजालवितथभ्रान्तात्स्वचित्ताद्भवं
चाण्डालाद्यभयं व्यतीत्य लवणो भूयः पपालावनिम् ।
मायामात्ममतिं विहाय परमं तत्त्वं महाशान्तिदं
स्वामिंस्त्वं निजमद्भुतं स्मर विभुः सर्वोऽसि किं क्लिश्यसि ।।१६।।

yadvac chāmbarikendrajālavitathabhrāntāt svacittodbhavaṃ
cāṇḍalyādibhayaṃ vyatītya lavaṇo bhūyaḥ papālāvaniṃ
māyāmātṛmitiṃ vihāya paramaṃ tadvan mahāśāntidaṃ
svāmitvaṃ nijam adbhutaṃ smara vibhuḥ sarvo 'si kiṃ kliśyasi
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course standing for any name in Sanskrit. Let me add that all manuscripts of the text do read *vṛkṣo*.

Coming back to the text itself: in verse 48 the reader is reminded of the setting, the dialogue between *śrīnātha* and his disciple. The latter is now until verse 60, addressing the teacher ("*nātha*") and conforming and explaining his liberated state of mind: "Yes (*āṃ*), thus (*evaṃ*) delusion has disappeared [. . .]" (50ab).

With verse 60 ends the speech of the disciple, in which he explains his inner state of liberation. The pupil is called *pūrṇānandamahodayo*, which might describe his state, but may also be the name of the pupil. At the end we hear that whoever reflects similarly on the instruction, may also attain the nonduality of consciousness.

So, in fact, this text is from a completely different genre, a liberational dialogue, where following upon the religious instruction by the teacher, the student expresses his newly acquired state of liberation. If we understand this as a category of its own, we would find there extremely large texts like the *Mokṣopāya* but also small texts like the *Aṣṭāvakragītā*. From the historical recitations of the *Mokṣopāya* we know that this mode of instruction was actually practised in India,[96] so perhaps this text by Sāhib Kaul is a further literary reflex of one mode of religious instruction in India.

[96] Jürgen Hanneder: *Studies on the Mokṣopāya*. Wiesbaden 2006, p. 131.

The Dynamic Text – Sāhib Kaul's Ritual Manual

In the case of some texts a regular reworking and updating is inevitable or even intended. The most famous dictionary of German, called the *Duden*, is for convenience named after its initiator Konrad Duden. While the dictionary started as a normative work to regulate spelling and gradually became a standard, it is at present more descriptive—it records changes in current German usage—and thus constant change and updating is very much part of the underlying academic (and economical) concept. In the course of time awareness has faded that it is still named after an author whose initial work has been changed beyond recognition by successive generations of revisors.

One other example, from within our field, would be one of the most widespread Sanskrit grammars in Germany, the so-called *Stenzler*, named after the nineteenth-century author Adolph Friedrich Stenzler.[1] To many beginning Sanskrit students the grammar of *Stenzler* is a constant companion, but hardly anyone realizes that in its present 19th edition it has retained only very few features of the book once conceived by the original author. For the form it has now more recent editors are responsible. This is, to my knowledge, the only Sanskrit grammar that has been treated in this way, there are no similar updates of the works of Kielhorn, Whitney, etc., which remain as the authors intended them. But the *Stenzler*, because of its success, has changed significantly over time. Many other examples could be adduced, but my point is simply that there are genres, or indvidual books within a genre, that are subject to constant revision. Such handbooks are kept up-to-date and a dynamic change of these texts is intended. The same applies to textbooks for teaching, which can be more elaborate or more concise. By nature their texts can be extremely similar in parts, they seem to or actually are plagiarizing from each other, but the term itself is ill-suited here, for they are not so much conceived or perceived as an effort of an individual, but as a learning or reference tool.

The genre of ritual manuals for the cult of Hindu deities is, I would argue, a similar one. It belongs to the group of "handbooks of various sorts, texts in which the literary intention is subsidiary or negligible and the primary aim

[1] *Elementarbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache*. Breslau ^{1}1868.

is to provide the reader with a body of useful, practical information."[2] Not all ritual manuals belong to this category. Obviouly some of these treatises are more literary in nature and because of their metrical form less prone to revisions.

Three ritual handbooks (*paddhati*) are attributed to Sāhib Kaul,[3] the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati*, a handbook for the worship of Tripurā, the second, the *Hṛllekhāpaddhati*, is one for the worship of Bhuvaneśvarī, and the *Śyāmāpaddhati*, which will be part of my edition of the works of that author, describes the worship of Dakṣiṇakālī.

The problem with the genre of ritual handbooks, which remains largely unstudied and practically unknown, is that it is difficult to imagine which type of scholars would be attracted to them. These texts do not contain philosophy, poetry or any of the other foci of indological interest. Everyone used to going through lists of manuscripts knows that they form a large percentage of any collection, but as the similarly enormous segment of texts on astrology, it is doubtful whether they will be made the object of sustained study. Not even the large interdisciplinary project on ritual dynamics conducted in Heidelberg has tapped these sources for the rituals of medieval and early modern Hinduism. And everyone who has read a few of these texts knows why this is so: these are texts that were surely used, but not so much read. Unless one needs to find out which deity was, in a certain area, worshipped by which ritual, there are not many reasons for studying them.

Our case is different, because these handbooks are ascribed to Sāhib Kaul, who was an extraordinary poet, and—as Sanderson has said—"the Kauls' most outstanding and influential author".[4] But is it imaginable that he really wrote those three in a sense fairly unimpressive manuals? Or were they just attributed to the famous author? If one starts reading these texts with their recurring stereotypical formulations and notices that down to the opening verses there are parallels in other similar handbooks, one wonders what the idea of individual authorship could possibly mean here.

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[2] Reynolds and Wilson: *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 234. [3] For details of sources, see my forthcoming edition. [4] Alexis Sanderson: "Hinduism of Kashmir", p. 39.

As an example for this inevitable intertextuality, let us look, for instance, at the beginning of a manuscript called *prātaḥsandhyāvidhiḥ* (Raghunath Temple Liberary 1902):

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॐ श्रीविद्योपासका
नां सुंदरीमहोदयोक्तं प्रातःकृत्यं तत्रसा
धको ब्राह्मेमुहूर्ते निद्रांविहाय गुरुपादुका
मंत्रेण ब्रह्मरंध्रेतेजोविग्रहं नाथंध्यात्वा
तद्यथा ॐ ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं हसखफ्रें हसरक्षम
लवरयूं सहखफ्रें अमुकानंदनाथगुरु
श्रीपादुकाभ्यो नमः इत्येवं त्रीन्वारान्

oṃ śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ oṃ śrīvidyopāsakānāṃ sundarīmahodayoktaṃ[5] *prātaḥkṛtyaṃ tatra sādhako brāhme muhūrte nidrāṃ vihāya gurupādukāmantreṇa brahmarandhre tejovigrahaṃ nāthaṃ dhyātvā tadyathā oṃ aiṃ hrīṃ śrīṃ hasakhaphreṃ hasarakṣamalavarayūṃ sahakhaphreṃ amukānandanāthaguruśrīpādukābhyo namaḥ*

The work starts with a standard description of the morning schedule, and as soon as the *mūlamantra* of Tripurasundarī is mentioned we know that this is a handbook for the Śrīvidyā ritual. Then follows the *Nāthastotra*: *namas te nātha bhagavan śivāya gururūpiṇe* [. . .] and so forth. All these elements occur also literally in the *Śyāmāpaddhati* and presumably also a larger number of similar works. The *Śyāmāpaddhati* has the advantage that it is more detailed and allows us to understand the different parts of the ritual much clearer. The *Śyāmāpaddhati* also mentions optional practices, more intensive and time-consuming as well as simpler ones. With all this intertextuality and fluidity, it was difficult to maintain the ascription of the

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[5] The *Sundarīmahodaya* is frequently adduced in the *Nityāśoḍaśikārṇava*.

handbook to Sāhib Kaul, and at some point I almost abandoned the idea to edit the text and present it as composed by Sāhib Kaul.

The *Śyāmāpaddhati* itself, however, is an interesting text for all who want to understand how Tantric ritual was practised. It is a fairly explicit handbook in that it gives the names of the mantras to be employed in clear language—as opposed to the code language employed in many treatises—and it seems to be more "complete" than other similar texts. But after collating the three known manuscripts, it became clear that while these share large passages with almost no variation, they in some sections read entirely different texts. After roughly one fourth of the text one manuscript had no more resemblance to the other two, and also the two remaining sometimes deviate completely for longer passages of many folios.

But the fluidity does not only pertain to larger passages. We also find that the corrector of one manuscript[6] has frequently added his own ideas about how the ritual should be performed. Where the text enjoins that for the morning *prāṇāyāma* one should adopt the lotus posture, he adds that we should read *vīra* and others, which is of course an important practical simplification. But also single formulations are corrected or rather slightly changed throughout the text. Here we see the textual dynamics in the margin of the manuscript. I give one example with variants in brackets.

> *tad[prāṇāyāma]vidhir yathā / atha vihitapadmāsano[vīrādyāsano] mūlādhārārpitacittavṛttir mūlaṃ praṇavaṃ vā ṣoḍaśavāram uccaran [tatra mūlādhāre manaḥ saṃyojya dakṣanāsapuṭaṃ dhṛtvā mūlaṃ praṇavaṃ vā japan] dakṣāṅguṣṭhena dakṣanāsāpuṭaṃ nirudhya vāmanāsāpuṭena pavanaṃ pūrayet [vāmena puṭena vāyum āpūrya] / tatas tam eva catuḥṣaṣṭivāram uccaran [tatas tam eva catuḥṣaṣṭivāram uccaran / tato] dakṣānāmākaniṣṭābhyāṃ vāmaṃ puṭaṃ [vāmanāsāpuṭaṃ] ca niruddhya [niruddhya tam eva catuṣṣaṣṭivāraṃ japan] dvābhyāṃ dṛḍhaṃ pavanaṃ kumbhayet [randhrābhyāṃ vāyuṃ kumbhayitvā] / tatas tam eva dvātriṃśadvāram uccaran [japan vāmaṃ puṭaṃ ca niruddhya] dakṣanāsāpuṭena pavanaṃ śanai recayed ity ekaḥ prāṇāyāmaḥ / eṣa eva viparyayeṇa kriyamāṇo dvitīyaḥ prathamavat tṛtīyaḥ / itthaṃ prāṇāyāmatrayeṇa nirastasakalakaluṣaṃ svadehaṃ devatārādhanayogyaṃ vibhāvya svamūlavidyāyāḥ ṛṣyādismaraṇaṃ vidadhīta /*

[6] Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Hs. or. 11304.

In this way the manuscripts often contain a second version of the text, which goes far beyond normal variation, it is a systematic re-writing for practical reasons. Another feature of the work is that some rituals are given even in one manuscript in different variations, or there are options for the performance according to the intensity of one's religious life. In one instance a multitude of versions of one ritual are enlisted:

> *ity ekaḥ prakāraḥ / atha vīratantre evānyakramaḥ /* [. . .] *iti dvitīyaḥ prakāraḥ / atha haragaurīsaṃvāde 'nyakramaḥ kevalā mātṛkā iti tṛtīyaḥ prakāraḥ / atha rudrayāmale 'nyakramaḥ /*

This is by the way in a passage contained in all manuscripts.

Under these circumstances, to claim that the text was written by Sāhib Kaul should have provoked the question "which one exactly?", of course if the reader should have continued reading to that point. But interestingly the final colophons of both of the Berlin manuscripts contain the following detail:

> *mahāmāheśvarācāryavaryacaryātiviśrutaiḥ*
> *śrīmatsāhibakaulākhye sthitimadbhiḥ parāśrame*
> *śrīmitrānandanāthāya svātmajāya vinirmitā*

> The very famous teacher, the *mahāmāheśvara* of supreme conduct, who is residing in the supreme *āśrama* called Sāhiba Kaul, has composed [this work] for his own son Mitrānandanātha.

Is this claim at all realistic? Again we may ask "which text was written for his son".

There are some passages in the text that suggest that this ascription may be genuine. These are the instances where the practitioner has to address his own guru in ritual and adapt the mantras accordingly. For the present purpose not much context for the following quotation is needed: In the manual, after the completion of one ritual action, the adept has to recite the *mūla-mantra*

of the Śrīvidyā, then follows the passage under consideration, where the adept has to worship the sandals of his Guru.

> *oṃ aiṃ hrīṃ śrīṃ hasakhaphreṃ /*
> *hasarakṣamalavaraya ūṃ /*
> *sahakhaphreṃ sahakṣamalavaraya ūṃ /*
>
> *hsauṃḥ shauṃḥ śrīmacchrīvidyādharakaulānandanāthaśrīpādukāṃ śrībhavānyāṃbāśrīpādukāṃ pūjayāmi namaḥ /*
>
> *iti daśadhā vimṛśya manasā daṇḍapraṇāmaṃ kuryāt /*

An editor publishing the text from one manuscript would not have to change anything. But let us look at the second paragraph in another manuscript:

> *hsauṃḥ shauṃḥ śrīmat**prakāśāndanda**kaulānandanāthaśrīpādukāṃ śrī**śivāṃ**bāśrīpādukāṃ pūjayāmi namaḥ /*

Now one realizes that Bhavānī was not a name of Pārvatī, it was rather, like Vidyādhara a personal name. If we know that initiation names for Śrīvidyā initiates end in *-ānandanātha* for men and deduce from the text that those of the spouses or tantric consorts end in *-ambā*, the text gives the impression that it was a personal copy of someone whose tantric gurus bore those names. It was in other words an individualized prayer book. Naturally every such personal copy had to differ.

Before asking how one should edit such a text, we might first ask how such a text was copied for someone else. In a living tradition reproducing individual names of Gurus would not make any sense unless one's guru's name was also Prakāśānanda Kaul. One would have to indicate that this is to be filled in with one's own data. In one manuscript there is exactly such a correction and the corrected text reads as follows:

> *hsauṃḥ shauṃḥ śrīmacchryamukakaulānandanāthaśrīpādukāṃ śryamukāṃbāśrīpādukāṃ pūjayāmi namaḥ /*

In fact, this is not so much a correction, but a preparation of a personal copy for general reproduction.

We may assume that an author of a ritual handbook intended for the public would not use personal names, but the *amuka*-formula. In our manuscripts this formula comes in secondarily, most passages read (first) the name Prakāśānanda Kaul. It could of course be the case that the writer of the archetype was using his own guru's name, but assuming that this work was really written for Sāhib Kaul's son and not for the general practitioner, it could have been a personal version from the start, containing the name of the *dīkṣāguru* of Sāhib Kaul's son. I would not dare to call this a proof, but this is as far as we get with the evidence.

In any case this text is an example for a fairly peculiar transmission and shows that "normal" scenarios may be useful for educational purposes, but that one always has to remain open to the specifics of the individual case.

Résumé

Coming to the end of these lectures I entertain the hope to have answered the question, whether producing first editions makes a difference. Even the brief overview on Kashmirian texts having been produced or currently being edited in Marburg has displayed a variety of subjects and a considerable time frame. The following is a chronological overview.

1. *Maṅkhakośaṭīkā* A re-edition of Maṅkha's auto-commentary (twelfth century) on his lexicon will for the first time give us the actual text of this important work with all the testimonia the author used in his dictionary. This will not only furnish a secure terminus ad quem for the texts quoted, but may also provide insights into works well-known and available in Kashmir at that time. The project is in an early stage and will be executed jointly by Lata Deokar and myself.
2. The edition of works by Ratnakaṇṭha,[7] whose active time lies between 1647–1686, has shown the literary accomplishment of this author, whom we knew before only as a commentator and scribe.
3. My forthcoming edition of the works of Sāhib Kaul (born 1642) will introduce an extremely versatile and productive author.
4. The re-edition of Bhāskarakaṇṭha's (eighteenth century) *Cittānubodhaśāstra* and first edition of his auto-commentary that is being prepared by Stanislav Jager will present what seems to be the only independent major treatise by this writer.
5. The late nineteenth-century authors Sāhib Rām and his son Dāmodara both worked on continuing the genre of Kashmirian historiography. Sāhib Rām's historiographic materials have been edited in a project just completed by Anett Krause, Dāmodara's "fifth Rājataraṅgiṇī" was edited by Bidur Bhattarai.

[7] See Jürgen Hanneder, Stanislav Jager and Alexis Sanderson: *Ratnakaṇṭhas Stotras. Sūryastutirahasya, Sūryaśataka und Śambhukṛpāmanoharastava*. München: Kirchheim Verlag 2012 (Indologica Marpurgensia 5).

6. A study of Sāhib Rām's *Vīraratnaśekharaśikhā*, an adaptation of a Persian "*nīti*" text, provides insights not only into the reception of Persian works in a Sanskrit environment in the late nineteenth century, but also into Indo-Persian translation studies and the cultural history of multilingual Kashmir.
7. And finally, Nityānanda Śāstri's Sanskrit translation of selected chapters of the Don Quixote features a method of translation completely unknown from earlier Sanskrit adaptations, that of a fairly literal translation preserving the flavour of a foreign text and even transcribing Spanish terms. It will be edited by Dragomir Dimitrov.

So, does it make a difference to the big picture whether these works are known or not? I hope the lectures have given the impression that it does, no more was possible in such a summary.

The demonstration that some first editions were so deficient that they should better not be used highlights one other aspect of the examples on which these lectures were based. It makes one painfully aware that the time of the great Kashmirian editors is long gone, and after the destruction of the Kashmirian Pandit culture in the 1990s, when their houses and private libraries were burned down, it has become only too obvious that for the case of Kashmir we lack local Sanskrit scholars who might be able to explain to us many details, from geography to customs. Having local editors may not be particularly relevant for editing texts from, for instance, early Nyāya or Buddhism, but for early modern literature in a specific area, one would have often appreciated a helping hand. In the case of Kashmir things are therefore more difficult, but—as I have also tried to demonstrate—with good philological practice not all is lost.

Further Reading on Editing

The literature on editing in European philologies is unwieldy, and after extensive reading about the theory of editing one tends to look at individual editions and transmissional scenarios for more practical advice. For the classics Reynold has collected cases in his *Texts and Transmission*, for Sanskrit editing one has to look at those introductions to editions that spell out the specific method of dealing with a certain type of transmission. The following selection of items from both categories makes no claims to being representative, it is simply a collection that I thought might be interesting for the reader.

European Philology

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